

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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40 YEARS OF INTERFERENCE

NEW TIMES

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THE DEBT NOOSE
LOOSEN?**

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**CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S
SERVICE INDUSTRY**

**MICHEL LEGRAND:
"MUSIC OF MY HEART"**

1917-1987

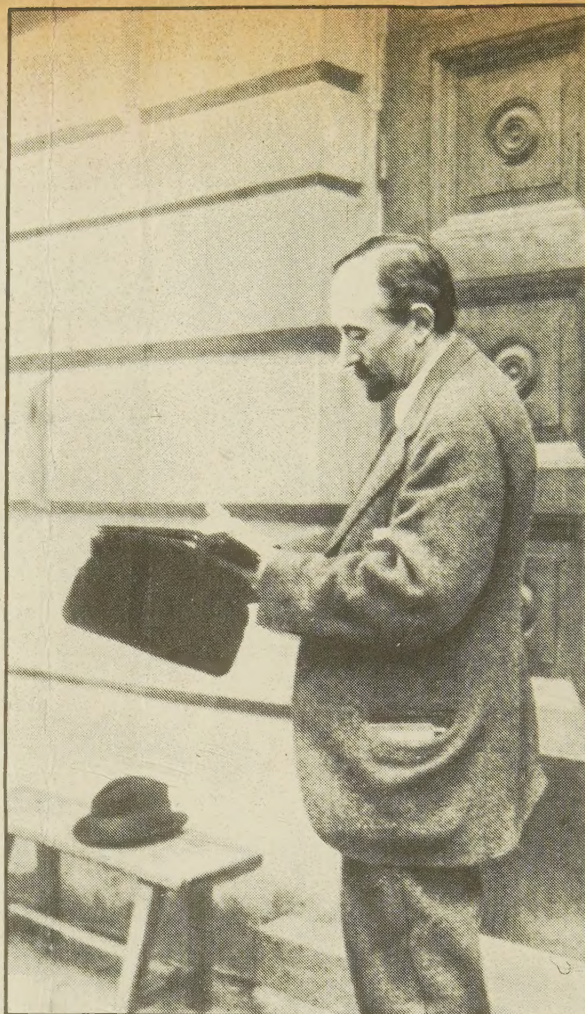
left in peace to develop as we see fit, to build our new, socialist society."

Chicherin carried Lenin's ideas into effect. There was the Brest Litovsk peace with Germany in 1918 which gave the young Soviet republic a brief but much needed respite. The international conference in Genoa in 1922. Then came the wave of diplomatic recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the countries of the West in 1924. New, equal treaties were concluded with Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey.

Chicherin was a great connoisseur of music. He could have been a talented historian. He was fluent in a dozen languages. But above all he was a Soviet diplomat of whom the American journalist Louise Bryant wrote that no foreign minister had ever been given a more difficult assignment, and no foreign minister had ever occupied that post with greater dignity and honour.

**Georgi Chicherin
at the entrance
to the People's
Commissariat for
Foreign Affairs.**

**Visiting Warsaw.
Extreme left: the Soviet
ambassador Pyotr Voikov.**



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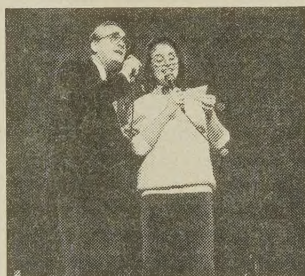
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FROM OUR MAILBAG

Instead of halting the arms race and ceasing to threaten peoples struggling for freedom, the capitalists are inflaming international tensions. They give no thought to the lives that could be saved and the people who could be redeemed from poverty by using the billions otherwise spent on preparing for war. We must come out in one united front against those who are trying to push us into the mad race towards global nuclear conflagration.

ORLANDO ALVAREZ
Nueva Gerona, Cuba

Although it secured a majority in the recent West German Bundestag elections, the CDU/CSU right-wing bloc polled 2 million votes less than last time. Alarmed by this, the leaders of the two parties are trying to explain their losses, oblivious of the fact that all who denigrate the Soviet peace bids or ignore the successful détente of the 1970s will find it hard today to count on long-term stable popular support.

SIGFRIED SCHULZ
Ebersbach, G.D.R.

Though not a Communist, I know what the Communists are like because they are my neighbours. Despite the state of siege in Chile, communist factory workers continue to fight the junta. The left-wing forces and their supporters are faced with conditions of incredible difficulty. We seek working-class unity and the establishment of a common leadership. Daily and hourly we say: We shall overcome! If this letter reaches you, let it be signed simply:

PEDRO
Santiago, Chile

THE EDITOR'S PAGE

THE POTENTIAL OF SOCIALISM

Today the socialist world is mobilizing its vast potential to the utmost. Indeed, the ten states that form the socialist community, whose population comprises under a tenth of the world total, produce a third of the world's industrial output and a quarter of the world's national income. In 35 years the industrial output of the CMEA countries has increased 15-fold, while that of the EEC countries 3.7-fold.

Even so these rates of progress cannot satisfy us today. We must advance even faster. Our foremost priority is not only greater output of coal and cement. Incomparably more important is the task of satisfying the material and cultural needs of the people and creating conditions for their happy life.

In contrasting the two lines of social development, some make only quantitative comparisons. They contend that as more motorcars are produced per capita in the industrialized capitalist countries, capitalist society is more progressive. Though there are indeed more motorcars, at how many of the plants where they are manufactured have the workers elected their own managers? At none. No instances of true democracy under capitalism can be cited, and there will be no such.

Social structures are being improved in the socialist community. New forms of economic activity are appearing, as, for example, joint ventures. The integration of the economic, scientific and technological potentials of the CMEA countries is gathering momentum,

as envisaged by the comprehensive programme for their scientific and technological progress up to the year 2000. The socialist community needs to step up the exchange of expertise and experience, regardless of the size, population and economic development level of its countries.

Socialist principles do not implement themselves automatically after means of production have been nationalized and the power of the working class established. They can only be implemented by purposeful effort under leadership of the Communist Party. All decisions on economic development are bound up with social advancement. What Western, even the most industrialized, country can boast of the concern for the common man, despite the abundance of motorcars and filling stations? Legislators ruthlessly cut down on public spending to swell military budgets.

Whereas socialism seeks to make the individual feel he is a full-fledged member of his society, which works for the common goal, capitalism reduces him to lonely isolation and confines him to a world in which he can rely only on himself and on the mythical "lucky break."

Although the two systems have been competing for almost 70 years, the argument is not over, and it must necessarily proceed within the context of peaceful development. Only history can pass judgement on the outcome of this debate. The socialist world is prepared to continue it.

A CONTINENT WITHOUT MISSILES

Soviet proposals on the negotiating table in Geneva

The attention of the public worldwide is focussed on a new Soviet proposal, the implementation of which would amount to a real step towards a non-nuclear Europe.

FIRST. To conclude with the U.S., without delay, a separate agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range missiles in Europe and their drastic reduction—down to 100 warheads—in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. and on U.S. national territory.

SECOND. Immediately after the signing of such an agreement, the U.S.S.R. is prepared to withdraw its longer-range operational-tactical missiles from the G.D.R. and Czechoslovakia,

with the consent of these countries' governments. These missiles were deployed as a countermeasure following the arrival of the American Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

THIRD. To start, without delay, negotiations on other operational-tactical missiles, and reach an agreement on their reduction and eventual elimination.

The new Soviet proposals, set out by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Statement, have been tabled at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva.

Alexander BESSMERTNYKH, U.S.S.R. Deputy Foreign Minister, considers the military-political aspects of the Soviet proposal, and the reaction of our partners in the negotiations to it.

Solution for Europe

The reaction of government, political and public circles in most countries to the new Soviet proposal was that it offers real hope of long-awaited progress at the nuclear and space arms talks in Geneva. This progress would help solve other problems of global concern. Presidents, including those who had hitherto concentrated on evading agreements rather than reaching them, prime ministers, including those who had made hawkishness a cornerstone of their political careers, ministers, including those notorious for their lobbying against any "agreements with the Russians"—all or almost all of them have been compelled to respond positively to the new Soviet initiative.

Wherein lies the force of attraction of the Soviet Union's new political action? Why has it aroused such a lively interest worldwide? The answer is as follows: concrete, clear-cut, and imbued with the desire to remove a pressing problem from the international agenda, the Soviet government's proposal came at a time when the optimism engendered by Reykjavik had started giving way to feelings of alarm and concern. And this was small wonder: the American stand at the Geneva talks all but deadlocked them again. The U.S. representatives declined to register agreed positions even when Soviet and American formulas coincided fully, literally word for word.

Under the circumstances, the Soviet

leaders decided to take a purposeful step, which would promise, to begin with, a solution to the complex European nuclear missile problem. The decision to eliminate intermediate-range missiles from Europe and dramatically reduce them (down to 100 warheads) in the Asian part of the U.S.S.R. and on U.S. territory is intended to provide a powerful impetus to negotiations all along the line. This is a logical assumption, for it was on intermediate-range missiles that an agreement was in fact reached at the Reykjavik summit. "The main thing is that we have succeeded in reaching an understanding on delivering the European continent from nuclear missiles," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "An important breakthrough has been made in this aspect of nuclear disarmament as well. The American administration has failed to dodge our persistent effort to get positive results."

Nevertheless, a first positive response to the Soviet initiative across the world does not automatically guarantee a successful outcome. There is still a certain amount of opposition to an agreement on the issue, although its opponents are obviously taking pains not to strike too discordant a note—which would be to their political disadvantage—in the atmosphere of unprecedentedly wide approval with which the Soviet proposal has been met. Right-wing forces and all those who have identified with an endless arms race dread the prospect of any progress being made at the Geneva talks, but they are resorting to more refined tactics than usual in their attempts to block it.

The essence of these tactics is to try to dissuade those U.S. and West European political leaders who are now prepared to reach an agreement from doing so (no matter what these leaders' motives might be). The means used towards this end are nothing new.

One method is to sow doubts with regard to Moscow's intentions (the Washington Post informed its readers, for instance, that the Soviet proposal was actually a trap).

Another method is to "warn" Europe of the dangers with which the implementation of the Soviet proposal is allegedly fraught. There is persistent talk of the Soviet Union's and the Warsaw Treaty countries' "enormous superiority" in conventional arms, and the "incredible disproportions" in battlefield systems. The U.S. and NATO are advised to build their armaments up to the "appropriate level" first. In short, what we have here is another rerun of a line of reasoning whose tenacity is due not to its inherent logic, but to the persistence with which it is imposed on public opinion.

Prospects of reaching agreement are questioned even by certain figures outside the extreme-right category. More likely than not, they are simply set in their biased attitude towards anything that comes from the Soviet Union—a reflex conditioned by years of political opposition to Soviet foreign policy initiatives.

Neither does the Soviet proposal suit those in Western Europe who do not wish to part with nuclear weapons, which they rely on for their ambitions and their countries' security.

On the face of it, the U.S. leaders have received Moscow's initiative without the scepticism which is characteristic of them in such cases. President Reagan said he regarded the Soviet proposal as "a major break-

through on the path towards an agreement for mutual and verifiable reductions in arms between ourselves and the Soviet Union." Even Defence Secretary Weinberger grudgingly admitted that the proposal was "a welcomed development," but added in the same breath: "I think the Soviets want and need an arms reduction agreement, and I think they'll try to get one by insisting that we do things that will strengthen their own position."

The question now is whether U.S. political strategists really want an agreement on intermediate-range missiles in Europe. After all, our comparatively long record of dealing with Americans on problems of arms limitation and reduction has had its ups and downs. Unfortunately, it has been mostly "downs" of late. We know from experience that the U.S. administration's initial approval of this or that Soviet proposal is not necessarily translated into a concrete stand at subsequent negotiations. It often happens that, having paid lip service to public opinion, Washington changes over to obstructing an agreement. Such was the case at the Soviet-American talks in the early eighties, which were divided between strategic arms limitation and reduction, on the one hand, and nuclear arms limitation in Europe, on the other. We came up against a similar situation at the talks on nuclear and space weapons begun in 1985 with their subject and objectives agreed upon in advance.

After we had put forward the Soviet initiative in Geneva as a concrete proposal, the U.S. followed suit with its own draft agreement (which the Americans themselves admitted to be half-baked). If this practical response stands for an intention to coordinate the two sides' mutually acceptable commitments in a businesslike fashion, the talks promise to bring fruitful results.

We shall see soon just how serious Washington is about wanting an agreement. There are a number of more or less accurate indicators of U.S. intentions. The first alarming symptoms are already in sight. According to the British press, U.S. representatives told the

NATO justified its decision on nuclear missile rearmament in 1979 by the existence of the Soviet SS-20 missiles. What was the North Atlantic headquarters' reaction to the latest Soviet proposals? Vyacheslav BOIKOV, a Trud newspaper correspondent in Brussels, answers the question.

Applauding with One Hand

"The West Applauds" was how the Belgian paper *Le Soir* described Brussels' and other NATO capitals' first



U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe.

From "Whence the Threat to Peace" (U.S.S.R.)

ambassadors of NATO countries at a recent Brussels meeting that Washington would not be in too much of a hurry to reach an agreement. Is it going to delay the negotiations using the same old tricks again, such as making a likely agreement conditional on numerous—and, as a rule, unacceptable—reservations or reducing certain, even legitimate, demands to absurdity? Or take the issue of control, the ensuring and tightening of which the Soviet Union is particularly interested in, as we have made abundantly clear since Reykjavik. The U.S. may well distort it to the extent of making the other side stop trying.

Yet another trick is to throw in restrictive conditions that would empty the agreement of all sense and meaning.

The Soviet Union will follow the further steps of the U.S. administration closely.

Our policy is to search for bold, quick and feasible ways of strengthening the security of our country, the United States and the nations of Europe. The Soviet proposal for a radical solution of the intermediate-range missiles issue offers just such a way.

Eurostrategic missiles, but also create a favourable climate at negotiations on other issues.

The NATO headquarters in Brussels also responded to Moscow's initiative, and rather promptly. Lord Carrington, Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Alliance, called it "a substantial step forward." Hardly had the first applause died down, however, than Atlantic circles reverted to type. General Rogers, commander of NATO's united forces in Europe, was perhaps the first to try to cool international enthusiasm. Speaking at the Brussels Royal Institute for International Relations on March 2, he voiced the oft-repeated apprehension that the "zero option," if adopted, could leave the West worse off than it was in 1979 (i. e., before letting the Euromissiles in). The general called for this problem to be linked with others rather than tackled separately. He again expressed his "concern" over the Warsaw Treaty countries' "overwhelming superiority" in conventional, chemical and operational-factical nuclear missiles.

Rogers was followed by others. Speaking in Hamburg, Lord Carrington echoed the general's "apprehensions." Shy of rejecting outright the popular idea of eliminating Euromissiles, many opponents of nuclear disarmament seek to block it by devious means. They talk of the difficulty of verifying such an agreement, which has become the "key problem." In other words, NATO leaders are applauding the new chance of solving the Eurostrategic problem with one hand. At one moment they wave it in welcome, at the next, clench it into a fist; they go through the motions of voting for the proposal while in fact voting against it.

reaction to the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev. As he welcomed the Soviet initiative, Belgian Foreign Minister Léo Tindemans, now President of the EEC Council of Ministers, said: "This is an important and positive move." It complies with Western requests and can bring not only an agreement on

The F.R.G. was assigned the key role in NATO's rearmament. It was that country's leaders who clamoured loudest for the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe and for the withdrawal of Soviet ones. Are they prepared for the "zero option" now? What do other West European capitals say? What counter-arguments do they offer? Alexander TOLPEGIN, our own correspondent in Bonn, reports.

"Unpleasant Surprise"

The F.R.G. has a big say in deciding the Euromissile issue. At one time, Bonn played the key role in NATO's "rearmament" by accepting the lion's share of U.S. intermediate-range missiles—all of the 108 Pershing 2s (now already poised for action) and 96 cruise missiles (still being deployed at a base near Bell). Moreover, Bonn helped Washington to twist the arms of the Dutch and the Belgians (who had long been undecided) into letting the U.S. missiles in. Both Social Democrat Helmut Schmidt (believed to be an author of the "double-track" decision) and Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl, his successor as Chancellor, have said, time and again, that Pershing and cruise missiles are necessary as a counter-balance to Soviet SS-20, and that Moscow's consent to dismantle them would obviate the need for "rearmament." "Our partners in the alliance and ourselves are still making a joint stand for the 'zero option,'" Chancellor Kohl said in a government statement on May 4, 1983. "This is to say, we want both the Soviet Union and the United States to abandon their ground-based intermediate-range missiles."

When it looked as if the "zero option" was to be agreed upon in Reykjavik, the CDU/CSU alliance became alarmed. The right started talking about the "zero option" being unacceptable to NATO because of the Warsaw Treaty countries' "overwhelming superiority" in operational-tactical missiles and conventional arms. However, a departure from their former position might cause the Christian parties a considerable loss of votes at the parliamentary elections. Kohl told the Bundestag on November 6, 1986, that the Reykjavik accords were acceptable to the F.R.G. after all. He added that an agreement on the issue could be reached shortly, provided the Soviet Union "untied" its packages.

In response, Moscow displayed, once again, its flexibility, its preparedness to heed the voice of others, and its desire to break the deadlock in Geneva. The package has been "untied." How has Bonn reacted?

The reaction was mixed. The right are clearly in confusion. They did not expect Moscow to make such a bold move. To quote the Frankfurter Rundschau, it came as "an unpleasant surprise" to them. So far the right have not ventured to attack the "zero option" head-on. They learned their lesson at the last elections, when bellicose statements by some CDU/CSU leaders cost the coalition a heavy loss of votes.

Disarmament issues were discussed at a session of the CDU board. After the session, all Heiner Geissler, the Party General Secretary, told newsmen was that the CDU was still for the "zero option." Chancellor Kohl made his opinion public through Friedhelm Ost, the government's press secretary. The Chancellor thinks the talks on intermediate-range missiles have entered the decisive phase, and an agreement is due this year. He specially emphasized the need for the agreement to stipulate for talks on operational-tactical missiles.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was much more definite on that score: the elimination of intermediate-range missiles, he said, is in the interest of all of Europe. Concomitant problems, such as verification, readily lend themselves to a solution, in his view.

In a contribution to our Opinion Poll (issue 5, 1987) Volker RÜHE, Deputy Chairman of the CDU/CSU faction in the West German Bundestag, said that "regrettably, the Soviet Union has made the complete elimination of intermediate-range missiles conditional on the solution of the issue of SDI." Mikhail Gorbachev's new proposal offers a chance to sign a separate agreement on intermediate-range missiles, and New Times has asked Volker Rühle to comment.

We Welcome Soviet Stand

Since this is a question of eliminating a whole category of weapons from Europe, the removal of these missiles and their launching complexes must be reliably verified. Neither must the "zero option" be sidestepped by the secret production of such systems. On-the-spot inspection is required.

In an article carried by your magazine I pointed to the problem of Soviet superiority in shorter-range missiles. We welcome the Soviet Union's preparedness to enter into negotiations on these

The opposition parties—Social Democrats and the Greens—are all for. Willy Brandt, the SDPG Chairman, says the implementation of Moscow's proposal will help make "an enormous stride forward" towards détente. Hans-Jochen Vogel, leader of the Social Democrat faction in the Bundestag, warns against the machinations of the right, who seek to torpedo the agreement.

Bonn is following the other Western countries' responses with legitimate interest. The French Foreign Ministry said Paris was determined to prevent Western Europe becoming a non-nuclear zone. However, President François Mitterrand put things in their right perspective. "The elimination of Euromissiles meets the interests of France and serves the cause of peace," he said.

On the one hand, Britain has welcomed the Soviet initiative; on the other hand, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has again made the elimination of intermediate-range missile systems conditional on the reduction of Soviet tactical missiles. Labour leader Neil Kinnock takes a different view. As for the other countries where American missiles have been, or are to be, deployed—Italy, Belgium, and Holland—they have said an unambiguous "yes" to the Soviet "zero option."

Although only the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. are represented at the Geneva talks, the future of Europe is under discussion there. Consequently, what the Europeans themselves think about it is by no means of minor importance.

systems immediately after the "zero option" is agreed upon. As we see it, however, the very agreement on the "zero option" ought to contain—in the interests of West European security—a provision for further negotiations aimed at reducing shorter-range missiles and setting equal SRM ceilings for either side.

These objectives can be achieved on condition that negotiations proceed constructively, and that their participants really want to achieve concrete results. This being the case, the "zero option" agreement can be reached as early as this year.

Why has the issue of so-called short-range operational-tactical missiles arisen? Sergei KARAGANOV, a research associate of the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies under the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, explains.

What's Behind the References to Short-Range Missiles

An excursus into history will help us trace this issue to its origin.

The all-round modernization of battlefield nuclear weapons was decided upon by the NATO nuclear planning group in 1974-75, at the U.S. initiative. In addition to the headquarters concerned, the job was tackled by the so-called European-American Workshop—a research group of conservative American and West European experts who included Richard Burt, now U.S. Ambassador to the F.R.G., the well-known American right-wing strategists Albert Wohlstetter and Henry Rowen, the F.R.G. conservative Uwe Nerlich and the British conservative Laurence Martin, and Johan Holst, now Norway's Defence Minister. It was the workshop that came up with the "double-track decision" and wrote the October 1977 speech for the then F.R.G. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt—the prelude to the deployment of American intermediate-range missiles in Europe. The workshop's recommendations were not confined to the deployment of the new intermediate-range missiles. In 1977 it published a book entitled "Beyond Nuclear Deterrent" substantiating NATO's new tactical concept, which later came to be known as the "Rogers plan" or "Follow-on Forces Attack." The plan was to have been carried out by means of "a new weapons generation of dual-capable stand-off weapons and cruise missiles."

In May 1977, on President Carter's insistence, the NATO Council adopted a long-term rearmament programme. Working groups were formed to finalize it. Group No. 10, formed in October of the same year to look into a nuclear rearmament plan, was the one that recommended the deployment of Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. Plans for the modernization and buildup of other U.S. missiles in Europe were shelved for the time being—but not abandoned.

The deployment of new-generation nuclear missiles was officially sanctioned by NATO's Montebello decision in October 1983. In Montebello, NATO leaders agreed on reducing the over-

sized U.S. nuclear arsenal in Europe (about 7,000 warheads). The reduction was supposed to sweeten the bitter pill for the West Europeans to swallow: the commencement of Pershing 2 and cruise missile deployment in the continent.

The U.S. nuclear arms cut amounted to the scrapping of outdated and inefficient nuclear ammunition: atomic mines, warheads for AA-missiles, and nuclear artillery shells. These were to be replaced not only by intermediate-range missiles but also by longer-range systems. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defence for nuclear affairs, Richard Wagner, said at a Senate hearing that the Montebello decision provided for "the proportion changing from a heavy reliance on short-range systems to a stronger reliance on longer-range systems which have more utility, both from a political point of view and, as our ability to consider striking deeper targets increases, in increased military capability as well." It was reported at the same hearing that the Montebello decision had set NATO the aim of "across-the-board modernization," specifically of developing longer-range missiles than the American Lances and Honest Johns now deployed in Western Europe (and capable of hitting targets over 115-120 km away).

Hard as the censors tried to black out the military officials' answers to senators' questions, the minutes of the hearings show beyond doubt that it had been decided in Montebello to deploy missiles of still greater range: 200 to 500 km. The plan was to have been implemented by the early nineties. The elaboration of political decisions was paralleled by the development of these missiles. Although they are highly classified, scraps of information about them occasionally filter into the press.

Before 1984, the U.S. Army and Air Force were busy developing, by joint effort, the JTACMS missile. The U.S. House Armed Services Committee was told at a hearing that the missile was intended for use "with options for conventional, chemical and nuclear munitions."

Later, however, the two arms of the service failed to agree on uniform missile specifications. So the army continued to develop JTACMS, and the Air Force its cruise missile.

It has transpired that the American corporations Martin-Marietta and Vought are developing the T-16 and T-22 mis-

siles with an effective radius of up to 200 km. The missiles are to go into operation by the end of this decade. The CAM-40 missile (a version of Pershing 2 modified to carry non-nuclear warheads) is on the drawing boards.

Bonn and Washington are unanimous in the belief that an intermediate-range missile agreement can be reached only if missiles with a range of 150 to 500 km are negotiated, the DPA news agency reported late in November 1986. Incidentally, NATO had never singled out missiles with such ranges into a separate category before. Under discussion were missiles with ranges of up to 100 km and of 100 to 1,000 km. The unexpected singling out of the missiles in the 150- to 500-km category is obviously intended to block the talks on intermediate-range missiles and justify the deployment of shorter-range U.S. missiles.

One cannot help getting the impression that all the talk about Soviet superiority in short-range missiles is intended to camouflage NATO's own plans for building up these weapons (as has repeatedly been the case in the past). Clearly, this can only impede the advance along the road towards a nuclear-free Europe. It is easy to imagine the haste with which certain NATO members are now seeking ways to block an agreement on intermediate-range missiles by references to short-range missiles and, of course, to an "imbalance" in conventional and chemical weapons.

All these issues can be resolved at the negotiating table. To begin with, the sides could get down to a serious discussion of the Warsaw Treaty countries' proposals for the reduction of conventional arms, and the banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

As for short-range missiles, the Soviet Union suggests early negotiations on their reduction and eventual elimination. Whatever imbalance there is, it must be levelled out, not up. Besides, the U.S.S.R. suggests that the more dangerous offensive weapons be removed from Europe. In the interests of European and world security, the military blocs' concepts and doctrines must be based on defence principles. We are for a drastic reduction of the armed forces in general to reasonable limits, and for the non-development and non-production of super-destructive conventional weapons.

All these measures are to facilitate progress towards a stable and non-nuclear Europe, a world without nuclear arms.

Compiled by NIKITA ZHOLKVER
and LEONID MLECHIN

NICARAGUA

Respect, Sincere Friendship

● A U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION, LED BY BORIS YELTSIN, ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE CPSU POLITICAL BUREAU AND FIRST SECRETARY OF THE MOSCOW CITY PARTY COMMITTEE, PAID AN OFFICIAL FRIENDLY VISIT TO NICARAGUA EARLY THIS MONTH.

The Soviet MPs visited many factories and farms and talked with Nicaragua's leaders and working people. Boris Yeltsin handed President Daniel Ortega a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev.

On a visit to the northwestern department of Matagalpa, famed for its vast coffee plantations, the Soviet delegation was taken on a tour of the front-ranking La Fundadora farm, which grows and processes coffee as well as engages in livestock breeding.

At a rally on the farm, extending greetings from the Soviet people to the coffee pickers and the whole working people of the republic, Boris Yeltsin said: "The path of the Sandinist revolution has been a thorny one. Its enemies are not letting the people of Nicaragua work freely to build a life of peace. The revolution has done much for the working people, but could have done still more had it not been for U.S. aggression. Today all the world's progressive forces, including the Soviet Union, are with the people of Nicaragua in their valiant struggle."

Addressing the rally, President Ortega emphasized: "When the U.S. administration sent its mercenaries into Nicaragua to mine its ports and blow up its oil stocks, the Soviet people were the first to offer help. When the U.S. imposed a trade embargo and stopped supplying us with food and manufactured goods, the Soviet Union again



"What will he be doing now, planting an olive branch or sowing the seeds of discord!"

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

stretched out a brotherly helping hand to the people of Nicaragua. The relations between our two countries rest on mutual respect and sincere friendship."

The Supreme Soviet delegation also met leaders of several opposition political parties represented in the National Assembly, and had

a frank exchange of views on the state of affairs in Nicaragua. Proceeding from different political and ideological principles, the leaders of the opposition parties gave their own assessment of the advance of the revolutionary process in Nicaragua, emphasizing that it was essential to strengthen national unity in

the face of unremitting U.S. aggression.

On behalf of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, Boris Yeltsin invited a Nicaraguan parliamentary delegation to visit the Soviet Union.

VLADIMIR DOLGOV
our own correspondent

Managua

LIBYA

The Republic's
Tenth Birthday

● ON MARCH 3, LIBYA MARKED THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE JAMAHIRIYA (THE STATE OF THE MASSES). A SOVIET DELEGATION LED BY YURI SOLOVYEV, ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE CPSU POLITICAL BUREAU AND FIRST SECRETARY OF THE LENINGRAD REGIONAL PARTY COMMITTEE, ATTENDED THE CELEBRATIONS.

At a session to coincide with the jubilee celebrations, the General People's Congress (GPC) reaffirmed the course of independent development. Relying on oil as its basic national asset, Libya plans to continue to lay the emphasis on social advancement, industrialization and the attainment of self-sufficiency with regard to manufactured commodities and farm produce.

However, the country is obliged to implement its plans under conditions of unremitting imperialist, and particularly U.S., conspiracy. Washington does not recoil even from outright aggression against Libya; it is enough to remember last year's bombings. The Reagan administration is attempting to throttle Libya with an economic blockade. Nevertheless, the country is moving forward. It has built a new iron and steel plant in Misurata and several textile and footwear factories in Tripoli and Benghazi, and a gas pipeline linking rich deposits near Bregha with the industrial centre of Misurata has just been put into operation. This project is seen in Libya as symbolizing cooperation with the Soviet Union, as it was built with the assistance of Soviet specialists. The jubilee celebrations in Sebha, one of the country's oldest cities, which many foreign delegations visited,

showed that Libya is not alone in its resistance to imperialist threats, and that it has many dependable friends.

Addressing the GPC jubilee session, Yuri Solovyev said:

"Today we wish to emphasize that Soviet people are solidly behind the people of Libya in their courageous struggle against imperialism and their effort to consolidate their national sovereignty and achieve progress."

At a meeting with the head of the Soviet delegation, Muammar al-Gaddafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution, expressed his gratitude to the Soviet people for their help and support.

Libya's leading newspaper Al-Fajr al-Jadid comments that while the U.S. continues to provoke tension in the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union consistently advocates making it a zone of peace and international cooperation.

RASIM AGAYEV

Tripoli

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Working Visit

● LEV ZAIKOV, POLITICAL BUREAU MEMBER AND SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE, HAS VISITED CZECHOSLOVAKIA WHERE HE DISCUSSED WITH ITS LEADERSHIP VITAL QUESTIONS OF CONTINUED COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

In the course of his visit, he went to Kosice, where he met workers at the East Slovak iron and steel works built and reconstructed jointly by Soviet and Czechoslovak specialists. Sophisticated scientific and technological achievements, especially in robotics, are being successfully applied there, due, in part, to the Vukov association in Presov, whose researchers already have to their credit 315 implemented designs for robotized

technological workplaces and complexes. This production association is Czechoslovakia's centre for the international Interrobot amalgamation, which has been organized within the framework of CMEA. Its staff is collaborating closely with Soviet partners in its effort to manufacture robotized complexes and flexible systems for the engineering industry.

Addressing party activists and economic executives of Prague and central Czech region, Lev Zaikov emphasized that remarkable strides have been made in establishing direct links between the two countries' enterprises and associations. The international Robot scientific and manufacturing amalgamation is forging ahead, he said. Of course, there are bound to be difficulties and problems at the outset, but an agreement has been reached to overcome them as quickly as possible, enabling the amalgamation to provide a model for other, new joint scientific and manufacturing enterprises to follow.

Lev Zaikov explained what Soviet Communists and working people are doing to achieve the objectives of the economic, political and cultural restructuring process in the U.S.S.R. and implement the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Before leaving, Lev Zaikov was received by Gustav Husak, Czechoslovak President and General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. During their talk Lev Zaikov and Gustav Husak emphasized the paramount importance of deepening relations between the two fraternal parties. It was noted that the new forms of cooperation, especially with great efforts to accelerate socio-economic progress, would substantially contribute to the fullest realization of socialism's vast creative potential.

VLADIMIR TRAVNICEK

Prague

SPAIN

Useful Dialogue

● A DELEGATION FROM THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMISSIONS OF THE TWO CHAMBERS OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET HAS JUST PAID AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO SPAIN.

The delegation, led by Alexander Yakovlev, alternate member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and member of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet's Soviet of Nationalities, arrived in Madrid on March 8 in response to an invitation from the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Congress of Deputies of the Spanish Cortes Generales (National Assembly). It had meetings and conversations with Spanish MPs and government leaders, including Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, to whom Alexander Yakovlev conveyed a personal message from Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as with leaders of the major political parties, and activists in the Spain-U.S.S.R. society. Finally, it was granted an audience by King Juan Carlos at the Zarzuela Palace.

The Soviet MPs' visit to Spain coincided with a highlight in the bilateral relationship. Only a month earlier both countries marked the tenth anniversary of diplomatic relations. In the years since then, bilateral political links have been substantially strengthened. To date the two countries have signed more than 30 intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements covering a broad spectrum of mutual cooperation.

A milestone in the bilateral relationship was Felipe Gonzalez's official visit to the U.S.S.R. last May, the first ever by a Spanish head of government. The high point of the visit was his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev. At their meeting both parties

advocated expanding political dialogue, economic and cultural ties, and friendly relations between the peoples of the two countries in general.

An apposite instance of this is afforded by the Soviet parliamentarians' visit. As the delegation's leader Alexander Yakovlev pointed out, contacts between MPs of the two countries have become "usual practice, even, it can be said, the norm in relations, and have contributed much to the political dialogue."

He went on to say: "The cardinal purpose of the visit was to exchange views with Spanish MPs on how to overcome the current dangerous trend in international affairs, normalize the world situation, humanize international relations, and banish fear of a nuclear catastrophe, fear of war, and fear for the future of our children, so that bias, mistrust and suspicion disappear from relations between nations."

The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, Alexander Yakovlev said, attaches great significance to still broader links with the Cortes Generales, which are essential in furthering the bilateral relationship, mutual understanding and confidence in ties between the two countries and in European relations generally.

VLADIMIR MALYSHEV

ASIAN-PACIFIC REGION

Soviet Foreign Minister's Tour

● IN THE FIRST HALF OF THIS MONTH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE TOURED SIX COUNTRIES IN ASIA, THE PACIFIC AND THE INDIAN OCEAN, NAMELY, THAILAND, AUSTRALIA, INDONESIA, LAOS, KAMPUCHEA AND VIETNAM.

As these states differ in

their social systems, economic levels, political orientation and, last but not least, the extent of their ties with the Soviet Union, the range of issues highlighted in talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and their heads of state and government and foreign ministers varied.

Yet, in our view there is a common denominator, the desire to pool the efforts of Asian and Pacific countries in launching a joint search for ways of guaranteeing security to all in this vast area and get peaceful cooperation under way at both bilateral and regional levels. As will be remembered, in his Vladivostok speech last year Mikhail Gorbachev proposed a whole range of initiatives in this connection.

The increasingly vigorous Soviet foreign policy vis-à-vis Asia and the Pacific is a major component of the Soviet programme for phasing out nuclear arms by the close of the century, and an important aspect of Moscow's concept of establishing a comprehensive system of international security.

In Bangkok, Thai leaders spoke favourably of the Soviet effort to avert nuclear war and preserve and strengthen peace in Asia. The mutual interest in expanding bilateral political, commercial, economic and cultural relations was emphasized.

In Canberra, the Australian Prime Minister said that Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok proposals had been received with interest. He referred in particular to the effort to rule out military rivalry and ensure extensive political and economic cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region. Although from time to time certain Australian right-wingers, echoing the Pentagon, provocatively talk about the "growing Soviet threat" in the Pacific, they seem oblivious to the fact that the Soviet Union subscribed immediately to the Rarotonga Treaty for a nuclear-free South Pacific, to the elaboration of which Australia so actively contributed, while the U.S. declined to recognize

the region's nuclear-free status. The Soviet-Australian protocol on consultations signed during the visit envisages a continuation of the useful dialogue between our two countries.

Indonesia supported the constructive ideas of the Vladivostok programme. In Jakarta, the two sides agreed that Southeast Asia's outstanding problems, especially the situation around Kampuchea, should be resolved by peaceful, political means, through dialogue between the two groups of states in the area, namely the three countries of Indo-China and the six ASEAN members. It was agreed to extend bilateral trade and promote other links and exchanges.

As this issue goes to press, Eduard Shevardnadze is touring the friendly countries of Indo-China.

ALEXANDER USVATOV

U.S.A.

New "Gates" Coming?

● RONALD REAGAN HAS ADDRESSED THE NATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE TOWER BOARD'S IRANGATE REPORT.

"First, let me say I take full responsibility for my own actions and for those of my administration," he avowed.

The President tried to vindicate himself by saying that he had put too much trust in his staff, that it was his way of doing things to entrust everything to others who, regrettably, had let him down. As a result, "What began as a strategic opening to Iran (read: attempts to modify policy to meet U.S. interests) deteriorated in its implementation into trading arms for hostages." True, he added, he could not remember when he had

authorized the arms supplies—whether it was before or after the fact.

The President admitted that he was not aware of many aspects of the operations the National Security Council staff had carried out in circumvention of Congress with regard to arms supplies to Iran and the diversion of part of the funds to the Nicaraguan contras.

The President promised that he would set his house in order to a still greater extent than the Tower Board wanted.

There are many questions pertaining to the Iranian swindle that remain to be clarified. This too was said by way of atonement. However, these questions have not been clarified. One, for instance, is where the money earmarked for the contras has gone. Another is how certain Iranian officials were bribed into supporting covert co-operation with Washington. According to the available data, some \$6 million were spent on bribes between the summer of 1985 and the spring of 1986.

Yet few Republican or Democratic politicians are interested in having all the implications of Irangate revealed. A Republican administration ending its stay in the White House with a tarnished reputation suits Reagan's future rivals. However, the blow that Irangate threatens to strike at the very heart of their own cherished "democracy" is more than they can bear. No wonder only timid calls for the impeachment of a discredited and incompetent leader are being heard in Washington corridors of power. No wonder the men in those corridors of power heaved a sigh of relief when they heard Reagan repenting and complaining of a bad memory.

It took the President a mere 13 minutes to beat his breast before the nation.

It took his administration four months to turn from the categorical denial of involvement in Irangate to the admission of their errors.

It took the U.S. political

system just over ten years, in effect, to repeat Watergate—the defiance of U.S. laws in the conduct of secret operation, deception of the American public, corruption and authoritarian decisions.

Is this mere coincidence? Or is it logical? Take, for instance, Reagan's observation about covert operations. They will continue, the President unequivocally announced. Only they will be carried out by other, newly appointed men in accordance with what the President has termed precisely formulated political objectives. So can we expect more scandals?

GALINA SIDOROVA

SWEDEN

Another Arms Scandal

● EVEN IN THIS NUCLEAR AGE WAR CANNOT DISPENSE WITH GUNPOWDER, AS KARL-ERIK SCHMITZ OF MALMÖ, SWEDEN, KNOWS WELL.

It was from Malmö that he ran a profitable business, selling arms, explosives and "accessories" to Iran. He energetically contributed to setting up a clandestine cartel in Western Europe to supply Iran's armed forces via third countries.

It now looks as if the enterprising death-merchant has fallen foul of the law. Officially, Sweden's authorities suspect him of having organized the smuggling of 200 tons of gunpowder by the firm Nobel Kemi to Iran. This "trifle," however, merely served to detonate a bomb that shook Western Europe. The documents seized on Nobel Kemi's premises gave customs in at least eight countries reason to instigate inquiries into clandestine arms deals. Judging from the minutes of secret meetings between Schmitz and his business part-

ners, plans to supply Iran with weapons and spare parts were drafted and initiated as early as 1984. The deals came to a total of two billion Swedish crowns.

The Malmö connection has led to arms manufacturers in Belgium, Holland, the F.R.G., and other West European countries. Similarly involved is Sweden's biggest arms concern Bofors of which Nobel Kemi is a subsidiary. Dozens of major Bofors violations of the ban on arms exports to countries either at war, or about to be so, have come to light.

The scandal in Sweden over the illicit sales of weapons and materiel is gaining in scale. Little by little the focus is shifting from the death-dealing Bofors to the politicians and officials whose job it is to enforce arms export control laws. In our issue No. 4 for 1987 New Times commented on the enigmatic death of Carl-Friedrich Algeron, chief of the war materials inspectorate, crushed beneath the wheels of an oncoming train in the Stockholm Underground. However, other witnesses are alive and testifying. The Danish seamen's union, whose members told their leaders of the transshipment by Danish vessels of arms to Iran via West European and U.S. ports, has promised sensational revelations.

As far as can be judged, the inquiry will emerge at political level within the next few weeks as the Swedish Parliament's constitutional committee plans to hear evidence from three former foreign trade ministers and a group of high-ranking officials at some of the country's ministries. Meanwhile, the view voiced by Minister of Foreign Affairs Sten Andersson

to the effect that it is essential to regulate foreign sales of Swedish arms more strictly is no longer contested. It has transpired that the enterprising Schmitz had in general no permission from the Swedish authorities to act as a middleman in the arms traffic. Who, then, is behind his operations?

Though there is no simple answer to this question, two illuminating details have emerged. Firstly, Israeli go-betweens were involved in Schmitz's deals and, secondly, Schmitz transferred receipts from his arms deals to a special account in the U.S.

ALEXANDER POLYUKHOV

VIENNA MEETING

The West Keeps Silent

● THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE REVIEW MEETING ON SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT PRESENTS A SURPRISING PICTURE.

No progress is to be reported in Vienna on these central issues, although the socialist countries have done all they can to make the discussion of their military aspects constructive and concrete.

During the first phase of the meeting, at the close of 1986, the Polish delegation proposed an addendum to the Stockholm Conference mandate to enable the reduction of armed forces and armaments to be considered along with measures to strengthen confidence and security in the military sphere.

By the start of this month the Soviet, G.D.R., Bulgarian

Romanian and Yugoslav delegations had put forward 11 more proposals in the military-political field referring to measures of confidence in the military sphere, cuts in conventional armaments, the need for a new thinking with regard to security, military détente, the non-militarization of space, a nuclear-weapon test ban, and the establishment of nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones.

How has the West responded to all this? To this day, the moment problems of strengthening security and disarmament arise, delegates from NATO countries are silent. And at the opening of the Vienna meeting last autumn the ministers of some NATO countries distinctly announced the intention to present by mid-December proposals that would extend Stockholm-1.

The situation in the S group, which is discussing the military aspects of European security, is indeed strange, Major General Victor Tatarnikov of the Soviet delegation told me. It is impossible to play a waiting game in politics. The meeting has a definite time limit, the general said, and we must keep to it. Few expected that in the space of four months the West would not submit a single proposal on military issues, he noted. In the view of many participants in the Vienna meeting, including some NATO delegates, the new peace bid set out by Mikhail Gorbachev in his February 28 statement will further stimulate the constructive consideration of aspects of the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Europe. For it is clear to the uninitiated, not to mention military experts, that the Soviet leader's proposals accord

with the aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the population of Europe. They represent, Major General Tarnikov noted, a big step towards ridding Europe of nuclear weapons, and the Vienna meeting must contribute to the attainment of that objective.

ANATOLY KOVRIGIN.
our special correspondent
Vienna

ALBANIA

Education on the Rise

● THIS REPUBLIC WITH A POPULATION OF ROUGHLY THREE MILLION TODAY BOASTS A SCHOOL AND UNIVERSITY STUDENT BODY

OF 745,000 AND A TEACHING STAFF OF 40,000.

These statistics are illuminating, especially when compared with the recent past when illiteracy was rife; Albania's first school opened in Koritsa only 100 years ago.

"The party gives a great deal of attention to stepping up the nation's educational standards," Albania's Minister

of Education Skender Gjinushi noted. "The network of elementary, eight- and ten-year secondary schools is expanding. During the current five-year period the country's institutions of higher education will train 15 per cent more specialists than in the five years ending in 1985. By 1990 another 21,000 qualified specialists will be working in the national economy."

FINLAND

On March 15-16 Finland will be holding a general election. One thousand nine hundred nominees from twelve parties are contending for 200 seats in the national legislature.

The Preelection Scene

Strictly speaking, the elections started late in February. The first ballot papers were being filled in on the day of my arrival in Helsinki. The inhabitants of remote areas and offshore islands, as well as Finnish citizens resident in Sweden (in all about 120,000) and other countries send their postal votes in advance.

The government headed by Social Democrat Kalevi Sorsa, which also includes representatives of the Centre Party, the Swedish People's Party and the Rural Party, has set a record for longevity in the history of independent Finland. It has remained in office throughout its entire four-year term without any serious complications. The cabinet has managed to curb inflation, which only a few years ago was running at a rate of 12 per cent. As compared with other countries, not only in Scandinavia, but throughout Europe, this is a major achievement. The country has registered an overall growth in industrial output, though this has mainly been due to the expansion of the metal-machining branch.

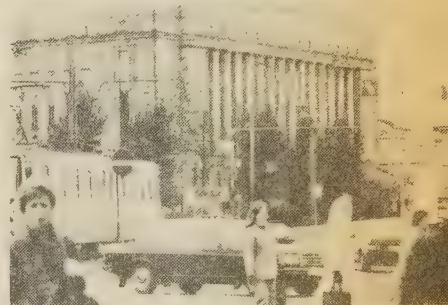
However, the sky is not entirely cloudless. Unemployment is rising (170,000), consumer prices rose 3.4 per

cent over the past year, and housing construction declined. Despite this, figures show that living standards have gone up.

On March 3 Kalevi Sorsa addressed a meeting of the Social Democratic Party Council. Among other things, he welcomed the Soviet initiative on intermediate-range missiles, and said the West should act along the same lines.

Predictably he concentrated on the stand of the party in the forthcoming negotiations on the new government programme. The Social Democratic leader gave a positive assessment of his party's cooperation with the Centre Party over a period of many years. He said: "After the election, too, we must form a broad-based majority government. The tasks we face make this imperative." He pointed out that, as far as the Social Democratic Party was concerned, participation in government was not an end in itself. What mattered was the programme of the future cabinet to be worked out by the parties in the course of the talks.

What do the Social Democrats' proposals add up to? Their first priority is to reduce unemployment, with enter-



prises assuming responsibility for the creation of new jobs.

The future government will have to carry out an overall tax reform. One of its main tasks will be to ease the tax burden on low and medium earners as well as on pensioners.

The Social Democrats have also been giving serious attention to increasing children's allowances, farm policy problems, curbing rises in food prices, improving housing conditions for young people, eradicating homelessness and protecting the environment.

In February Helsingborgs dagblad wrote: "The Russians are helping Sorsa win the elections." The allegation is as insidious as it is absurd. However, if the paper meant that stable trade and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union had helped Finland avoid the painful blows of the crisis of the capitalist system, it was right. Moreover, in January our two countries agreed to eliminate the imbalance in mutual trade, caused by a sharp drop in the prices of oil and oil products on the world market.

Thanks to economic stability and rising living standards, the election campaign was not as bitter and unpromising as is often the case in some of the developed capitalist countries. However, it is true that the opposition

National Coalition Party has sometimes had sharp criticism for the government's policy with regard to employment and taxes.

As all the main parties support the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line and favour expanding relations with the Soviet Union on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 1948, questions of foreign policy are not traditionally aired during election campaigns. Ninety per cent of the population support the present line in international relations.

Despite this, many people believe the current elections are of decisive importance to the country's future.

Why?

The current parliamentary elections are overshadowed by the forthcoming presidential election to be held early next year. All the parties, admittedly, claim that these two events are quite unconnected, at any rate, formally. In fact, a great deal depends on which party wins now and who becomes prime minister.

Two parties have already announced their presidential nominees. The Centre Party has chosen Paavo Väyrynen, the party chairman and Minister for Foreign Affairs. The National Coalition Party's choice is Harri Holkeri, its former leader, now member of the board of directors of the Bank of Finland. The Social Democratic Party is to nominate a candidate at its convention in the summer. Everybody is sure that it will be the current President, Mauno Koivisto, who is a great favourite with Finns and enjoys their support.

Another important factor is the growing influence of the bourgeois National Coalition Party. Today it has the second largest number of seats in parliament after the Social Democratic Party. Though it has contested eagerly for the seats, it has not for many years been able to participate in government.

In an interview granted to me by Ilkka Kanerva, National Coalition MP and the party's leading foreign policy expert, he said: "Yes, we are trying to strengthen our position and play a bigger part in Finnish politics. That is why we have set ourselves the goal of winning 50 seats in parliament and entering government. As our party has sufficient influence to participate in government on an equal footing with other parties, we are optimistic about our prospects. The fact that we have been in opposition for 20 years has been due to a whole range of factors. In the mid-1970s, the National Coalition Party revised its views on Finnish foreign policy and started to back the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line. At the same time we have extended our ties with kindred parties not only in Scandinavia, but in other countries too. In promoting these ties we have upheld the coun-

try's current policy in international relations. Today we support President Koivisto in pursuing the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line. So, since we have no differences with the ruling parties on this matter, there is no reason why we should not enter government. If we succeed, we shall certainly further our relations with the Soviet Union."

"What is responsible for the growing influence of the National Coalition Party and the support it has won?"

"The chief factor has been the structural changes in our society. The number of white-collar workers and people employed in the sphere of services has been growing rapidly. These sections make up the party's traditional support. The balance of forces in the country is changing to the advantage of the National Coalition Party. Though I do not wish to run ahead of events, I am sure that in the coming decade our party's influence will increase to an even greater extent..."

Such factors as urbanization, the disappearance of many obsolete trades and professions that had enabled thousands of people to earn their living, and the rapid introduction of means of automation and computers have brought about radical changes in the character of the work of large sections of Finnish factory and office workers. They have understandably affected public consciousness as well. The influence of one party or another depends on their responding promptly and adequately to these processes.

I asked Seppo Kääriäinen, Secretary of the Centre Party, how he appraised his party's prospects. He said: "Today the so-called floating vote, i.e., that part of the electorate that has not committed itself to voting for a definite party, has increased in Finland. It is best, therefore, to be cautious in making forecasts. However, judging from public opinion polls, like the Social Democrats and the Coalition Party, we shall maintain our position. One of these parties will, perhaps, win some additional seats."

"Could you comment on how the structural changes in Finnish society have affected the position of the Centre Party?"

"Since the war, and particularly in the last few years, these changes have been developing very quickly. To an increasing degree we are becoming an automated society. Already today people engaged in the sphere of services, civil servants and office employees make up a large part of the employed labour force. At the same time the number of people engaged in farming is decreasing. It amounts to only 9 or 10 per cent. These processes are a serious challenge to all parties that have traditionally relied on the

support of one or two social groups. It would be fair to say that these trends have most seriously affected the Social Democrats and the Communists, for they rely on the working class, which is shrinking as a proportion of the population as a whole.

"Our party was founded to represent the rural population. In recent years we have been able to adapt to the changes in society. If we were now to divide our supporters into groups, it would be fair to say that the rural population accounts for a third, and office employees and workers for two thirds. Therefore, our strategy for the future will be to represent the interests of the rural population, while concentrating our efforts on winning over small businessmen, office employees and workers—in that order. The party does not want people who have become office employees to veer to the right in their political views. We want them to support the political centre."

"What can you say about the prospects for the creation of a government with the participation of the Coalition Party?"

"Of course, everything depends on the outcome of the elections. I wish to repeat that we are cautious about making forecasts. But I would say frankly that our basic intention is to continue to cooperate with the Social Democrats after the elections as well. That is, if both parties are successful in the elections. From this point of view this is a jubilee year, because we are marking the 50th anniversary of our cooperation, which Urho Kekkonen championed from the outset. Since you have mentioned the government, I must say that our main task is persistently to pursue the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line in the long-term perspective, because it is of vital importance to the people of Finland.

"We do not exclude the possibility of forming a government of the Big Three—the Social Democratic Party, the Centre Party and the National Coalition Party..."

The left, regrettably, are experiencing great difficulties brought about by a split in the Communist Party, the leading force in the Finnish People's Democratic League. As a result, a group of MPs has withdrawn from the FPDLP faction to form its own democratic alternative faction.

The elections will take place in a few days. The relatively calm atmosphere of the election campaign should not mislead anyone. A complex inner-political struggle is unfolding in the context of an intricate balance of forces. The election results will help clarify a great deal.

DMITRY POGORZHEL'SKY
our special correspondent

Helsinki—Stockholm

The external debt of the Latin American countries runs to the astronomical figure of over \$400 billion. By charging high interest on its loans, the United States pumps out of its southern neighbours enormous sums which in large measure are used to cover its huge budget deficits caused by military spending. The Latin American countries suffer heavy losses also owing to unfair terms of international trade—low prices for their raw material exports and the increasingly harsh protectionist policy of the United States. The outflow of capital to the U.S. and other industrial capitalist countries has in recent years exceeded by far the inflow from external sources.

The result of all this is stagnation of industrial production, runaway inflation, constantly rising cost of living, and mounting unemployment. The hardest hit by the crisis situation are the working people, whose living standard is steadily declining.



Caught in the Debt Noose

JULIO SILVA COLMENARES,

D. Sc. (Econ.), Secretary-General of the Colombian Academy of Economic Sciences

There is much discussion in Latin America today about how to solve the foreign debt problem of the countries of our region. One of the most complex problems of our time, it is part of the economic, social and political crisis gripping our continent.

Our foreign indebtedness has ceased to be a purely legal or economic problem. It has become a political problem. Hence the solution cannot be sought in legal or technical and economic agreements, or other bilateral arrangements between debtor countries and creditor banks. A common solution must be

found for all the debtors at interstate level. A big step in this direction was made after the Cartagena Consensus.* The governments of the Latin American countries are now speaking of the need for a dialogue at summit level and the adoption of political solutions. However, very little has been done in this respect.

Meanwhile it is becoming increasingly clear that the debt problem cannot be solved by observing the terms of agreements concluded earlier. It is not a matter of the Latin American or Caribbean countries not wishing to pay. They

are simply unable to do so. To repay our foreign debts we would have to reorient the economy still more on production for export, and this would be detrimental to domestic consumption and reproduction. Nevertheless, the transnational banks, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are out to impose just such an export economy on us.

As a matter of fact, there is a certain part of our debt which we are under no obligation to repay. The reference is to sums that were provided in circumvention of established rules for ex-

* At the conference of the 11 major Latin American debtor countries, held in June 1984 in Cartagena, Colombia, it was agreed to hold periodical political consultations on co-ordinating approaches to the solution of the debt problem. Within the framework of this mechanism—known as the Cartagena process or the Cartagena Consensus—four conferences have been held which have underscored the need for political dialogue with the creditor countries with a view to resolving the crisis. Ed.

Argentina

In January this year the government of Argentina and the International Monetary Fund signed a memorandum on mutual understanding. Under this document, which went into force on January 1 and is to expire in 15 months, Argentina agreed to limit the increase of wages, reduce the role of state-owned enterprises and companies in the economy, and to lower the taxes of agricultural producers. Foreign companies are given the right freely to export their profits and dividends, and import regulations are liberalized. Argentina has undertaken not to defer payment on its foreign debts, and to effect at an early date overdue interest payments amounting to some \$500 million. Under the agreement, Argentina will be granted new loans which will add another \$2.7 billion to its foreign debt this year.

tending foreign credits. This was done through unlawful devices supposedly of benefit to our economy and society.

Strictly speaking, that part of our debt has actually been repaid in recent years in terms of excessive commission charges and the heavy losses incurred owing to the low prices paid for Latin American goods on foreign markets and the high prices we have had to pay for industrial products, especially arms, we have bought. It has been estimated that between 1978 and 1984 interest payments, the unduly high exchange rate of the dollar, and losses in trade on foreign markets cost the Latin American and Caribbean countries more than \$240 billion.

Of course, while demanding that the foreign debt be regarded as a political problem, while pointing to the impossibility of repayment from both the social and economic standpoint, at the present time, and repudiating part of our debt as unlawful, we are well aware that we live in a part of the world where the legal and moral norms characteristic of capitalist relations of production operate. Clearly, these norms cannot be expected to disappear from the international arena in the foreseeable future.

The changes taking place in the economic, political and social spheres dictate the need for collective action to counter the pressure of the creditors. This need is highlighted by the united front the creditor banks present through the diverse so-called consultative groups or committees for relations with one or another country, by the unanimity displayed in critical situations by such institutions as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The Cuban leader Fidel Castro and other Latin American political and public figures have proposed that the governments of the countries where the transnational banks batten on our colossal debt have their headquarters should cover at least part of that debt, especially that part which, in our opinion, we are not obliged to repay. This obviously is the only real way out of the present financial impasse.

The debtor countries will fight for

Peru

Last year Peru limited payments on its foreign debt to 10 per cent of its export earnings in order not to deprive itself completely of funds needed for economic development. As a result, Peru's economic growth rate in 1986 was 8 per cent and its production potential increased. The crash programme of economic measures announced by President Alan Garcia's administration in July 1985 proved even more effective than its supporters had anticipated. Price control was introduced and the bank rate was lowered. The value of the new national currency unit—the inti—has been stabilized in relation to the dollar. Government spending has been cut by abandoning non-priority projects and reducing appropriations for the purchase of military equipment. The inflation rate has dropped sharply, and real wages have increased. Industrial production capacities, of which only 50 per cent was formerly used, are now more fully utilized.

the right to take joint action to counter the creditors' club by using such mechanisms as the Cartagena Consensus, the Latin American Economic System, the Latin American Parliament or the Organization of American States. We shall insist on the convocation of an international conference on the external debt problem. It would be best of all to hold such a conference under the auspices of the United Nations. All countries should be able to take part in it.

The connection between foreign indebtedness and the arms buildup merits special attention. Fidel Castro made an invaluable contribution to elucidating this aspect when he said that to remove the heavy economic and social burden resting on the Latin American countries two problems had to be solved: first, that of the inordinate indebtedness of the developing countries and, second, the problem of ending the arms buildup.

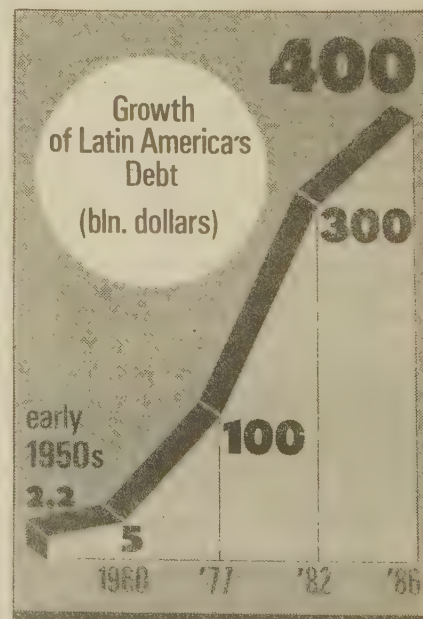
The insane arms race in the industrial capitalist countries compels the socialist countries to channel large resources to defence and involves in enormous unproductive spending also Third World countries already burdened with colossal debts. The international conference we propose convening should find a formula for the cardinal solution of the foreign debt problem, primarily through

reduction of spending on the arms buildup.

The money released by cutting arms spending should be used to cover that part of the Latin American countries' debt to the transnational banks which, as noted above, we do not agree to repay. For this purpose the governments of the industrial capitalist countries could issue bonds on terms advantageous to buyers and redeemable within time limits agreed with the banks. Such bond issues would not increase the budget expenditure of the governments floating them or add to the state debt, inasmuch as they would amount to exactly the equivalent of the cut in arms spending. If the situation is viewed rationally and realistically it will be clear that such an operation would be of equal benefit to both debtors and creditors. For in this way the transnational banks, in agreement with their respective governments, would be

Brazil

In February 1987 the government of Brazil suspended payments on its foreign debt for three months in view of its inability to meet its foreign commitments. In the following two months it will pay approximately \$2 billion of the interest due on principal for the first half of the year. This is the second time in the past four years that the Brazilian government has taken such action. It was dictated by the sharp reduction in foreign exchange reserves and the impossibility of attaining the \$7 billion favourable trade balance projected for this year. Brazil was due to pay about \$12 billion in interest alone on its foreign debt in 1987.



ensured repayment of credits and avoid the bankruptcy that will be inevitable if the Latin American countries declare themselves insolvent.

As regards the debtors, such an approach would make for the recuperation of their debilitated economies and revive the process of economic growth that has been interrupted for several years. If, in addition, the IMF prescriptions which can only lead to economic decline are dropped, the industrial capitalist countries from whom we buy the basic goods we need would also benefit by it.

These, then, are our proposals. We believe that their realization would give

Mexico

Mexico is now engaged in complicated and protracted negotiations with international private banks for a loan of \$7.5 billion. This will be in addition to the credits to the same amount agreed upon earlier. The latest negotiations began in mid-1986. According to official Mexican spokesmen, the country needs the new credits in order to increase its domestic economic growth capability and to meet its payments on earlier debts and thereby forestall a further aggravation of the crisis. According to official sources, in 1987 and 1988 Mexico will pay its creditors about \$27.5 billion (\$16.5 billion in interest and \$11 billion for repayment of loans).

an impulse to a new cycle of economic growth. And this in turn would make it possible to channel substantial resources to improving the living and working conditions of the vast majority of the working people, and thereby avoid new social explosions which could reverse the democratic changes now under way in the Latin American and Caribbean countries.

IN RETROSPECT

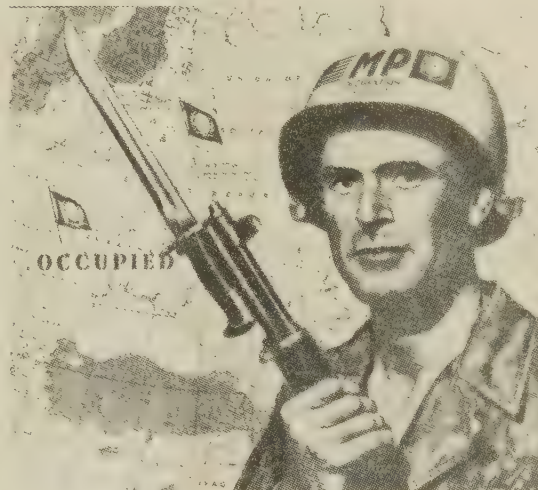
The Pentagon Planned to Occupy 21 Soviet Cities...

A publication in the American magazine Collier's on October 27, 1951, achieved considerable notoriety: it described in detail a "possible" occupation of the Soviet Union by U.S. troops. The cover photograph, showing an American military policeman against the background of a map of occupied Soviet territory, caused public outrage and became a symbol of the provocative journalism of the cold-war period. However, some commentators tried to pass that anti-Soviet demarche off as a

of occupation divisions and the fourth, the number of air force units needed for the operation.

In all, there were to be 22 U.S. divisions and 22 air force destroyer groups in 21 Soviet cities. What was their task to be? There is no need to guess because there is an appropriate document that defines the goals of the occupation (pp. 50-51 of memorandum 496/1):

"a) Elimination of communist dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. and elsewhere in the



THE FRONT

area, and transportation and other facilities will be used. The plan to transport this would be to transport troops to any given area. The following table gives an estimate of forces to occupy these areas.

OCCUPATION PLAN			
Location	Division	Infantry	Air Force
(1) Moscow	Leningrad	2 Divs.	2 Divs.
(2) Leningrad	Leningrad	1 Div.	1 Div.
(3) Archangel	Archangel	1 Div.	1 Div.
(4) Murmansk	Murmansk	1 Div.	1 Div.
(5) Oymyakon	Oymyakon	1 Div.	1 Div.
(6) Irkutsk	Irkutsk	1 Div.	1 Div.
(7) Krasnoyarsk	Krasnoyarsk	1 Div.	1 Div.
(8) Novosibirsk	Novosibirsk	1 Div.	1 Div.
(9) Omsk	Omsk	1 Div.	1 Div.
(10) Tyumen	Tyumen	1 Div.	1 Div.
(11) Khanty-Mansi	Khanty-Mansi	1 Div.	1 Div.
(12) Yamalo-Nenets	Yamalo-Nenets	1 Div.	1 Div.
(13) Chukotka	Chukotka	1 Div.	1 Div.
(14) Kamchatka	Kamchatka	1 Div.	1 Div.
(15) Sakhalin	Sakhalin	1 Div.	1 Div.
(16) Khabarovsk	Khabarovsk	1 Div.	1 Div.
(17) Vladivostok	Vladivostok	1 Div.	1 Div.
(18) Khabarovsk	Khabarovsk	1 Div.	1 Div.
(19) Vladivostok	Vladivostok	1 Div.	1 Div.
(20) Khabarovsk	Khabarovsk	1 Div.	1 Div.
(21) Vladivostok	Vladivostok	1 Div.	1 Div.

b. Total forces required to support the initial forces will be provided from front units performing other tasks.

Source: Collier's, October 27, 1951.

harmless gaffe by irresponsible journalists. Those who took exception to such an interpretation, however, suspected that the article reflected some plans of the U.S. political and military leadership. But at the time this was mere guesswork.

Now we have evidence: the Pentagon has declassified some of its documents. Page 116 of the strategic plan Broiler, issued on November 8, 1947 (memorandum 496/1 of the Joint Strategic Plans Group), for instance, supplies a list of Soviet cities that were to be occupied in the course of a third world war. We here reproduce the list, which is self-explanatory. The first column shows the cities to be occupied, the second, the supply bases of the occupation forces, the third, the number

world and finally the elimination of the Soviet doctrine of communism.

"b) Confining the sovereignty of Russia to its 1939 boundaries and to encourage and permit those portions of the U.S.S.R. that so desire to set up independent states or federations...."

Yet another document contained the following explanation: "The occupation of key points and areas within the U.S.S.R. ... would provide the most certain means of control and enforcement of surrender terms" (memorandum of the Joint Chiefs of Staff 1920/5, December 19, 1949).

These plans are unambiguous, and the publication in Collier's was clearly just a pale simulacrum of the sinister original drawn up in the Pentagon.

L. B.

Please find enclosed photo copies of articles by Piero Sinatti and Federico Rampini from the newspaper *Il Sole-24 Ore* accusing the Ethiopian regime of misusing Western famine relief. The articles also claim that Soviet citizens, while keeping a low profile in Ethiopia, are interfering in everything. I would like you to comment on these articles.

RENZO BENETOLLO
Padua, Italy

TAKING UP A POINT



New Times writer
on international affairs
YURI BOCHKARYOV
replies:

A Pack of Lies

Let me begin with the article by Sinatti. He visited Ethiopia to attend the opening of a medical complex in the Macalle area built with money raised in Italy. At least that was the ostensible object of his mission. However, it holds no water. I am convinced that his main aim was to write a slanderous article on the situation in Ethiopia and cast aspersions on the country's relations with the Soviet Union. He needed to have visited Ethiopia to give credibility to his "eyewitness account." In fact, he has seen none of the things he writes about.

He could not have observed, for example, the resettlement of peasants from arid to more humid areas, because the resettlement had been suspended at the time of his visit. Nevertheless he claims that the resettlement of "entire peoples" (sic) is being effected by "barbaric methods." Neither has he visited the places of resettlement. Undeterred by this, Sinatti claims that people are being resettled in places "where no preparations have been made to receive them." Incidentally, many impartial Western observers admit that resettlement has been an effective and successful measure. Among them is Michael Priestly, U.N. Under-Secretary General, who had worked in Ethiopia for many years and who heads

the emergency group to prevent famine.

Sinatti has not seen how peasants are being resettled from homesteads to villages. This measure, the Ethiopian authorities explain, is intended to facilitate water supplies and medical aid to peasants. Sinatti claims, without citing any facts, that resettlement has provoked "universal indignation" and is aimed at "establishing military-political control over the population."

You may know that separatist bands that have the backing of reactionaries outside the country are operating in the Ethiopian provinces of Eritrea and Tigre. They operate in a limited area. But Sinatti has discovered that "the whole of Ethiopia [bold type mine—Y.B.] is

being swept by resistance to the communist regime." What grounds does he have for making such a claim? Has he travelled all over Ethiopia? But as we have already seen, Sinatti is so well informed that travelling around Ethiopia would have added little to his knowledge.

Sinatti has not only covered the whole country, but has, one assumes, visited "all the important ruling bodies" in Ethiopia and established that "Soviet advisers work in all of them." He admits that they are keeping a low profile, but they have not escaped his sharp eye.

In his biased account of the situation, Sinatti ignores such an important event as the adoption of the new Constitution. He has somehow overlooked the country's efforts to do away with economic backwardness and build irrigation facilities, as well as the discovery of gas fields (with the help of Soviet prospectors), which will increase its energy potential. Nor has he noticed the country's spectacular achievements in combating illiteracy. Rampini's article is written in much the same vein. He writes about a congress in Paris devoted to Ethiopian "abuse" of Western aid. The participants in the congress harped on the same false accounts of "forcible resettlement" and the "herding of

peasants into new villages." Rampini makes much of the stories retailed at the gathering. One such tale says that Ethiopia has used Western aid to build an army of 300,000 whose upkeep consumes 45 per cent of the national budget. In reporting these figures, Rampini does not take the trouble to consider where all this money could have come from.

It is not just a case of doctored figures, but a malicious attempt to portray Ethiopia as a militaristic state. What can be said on this point? Ethiopia, like any other state, takes care of its defences and receives Soviet military aid. Ethiopia has to allocate considerable resources to maintaining its armed forces because of the separatist bands on its territory.

Furthermore, Rampini claims in his article that eight million people are starving in Ethiopia. This is a patent lie: Addis Ababa officially sets the figure at 2.5 million drought victims. It will therefore need far less relief aid than in the previous two years. This is due to a slight increase in Ethiopia's domestic food production.

Rampini, however, should be given credit for the candour with which he has formulated the congress's appeal to those in the West who are sending food relief to drought victims. The appeal is as follows: before granting aid to such regimes as Ethiopia, charity organizations must set preconditions—either you allow us to act independently and bring aid directly to the victims, or we shall not cooperate with you. They want to be allowed to behave in another country as if it were their own. Surely, these demands are offensive to any sovereign state.

I suspect that Rampini would have liked to attend the meeting in Paris last February between American Con-

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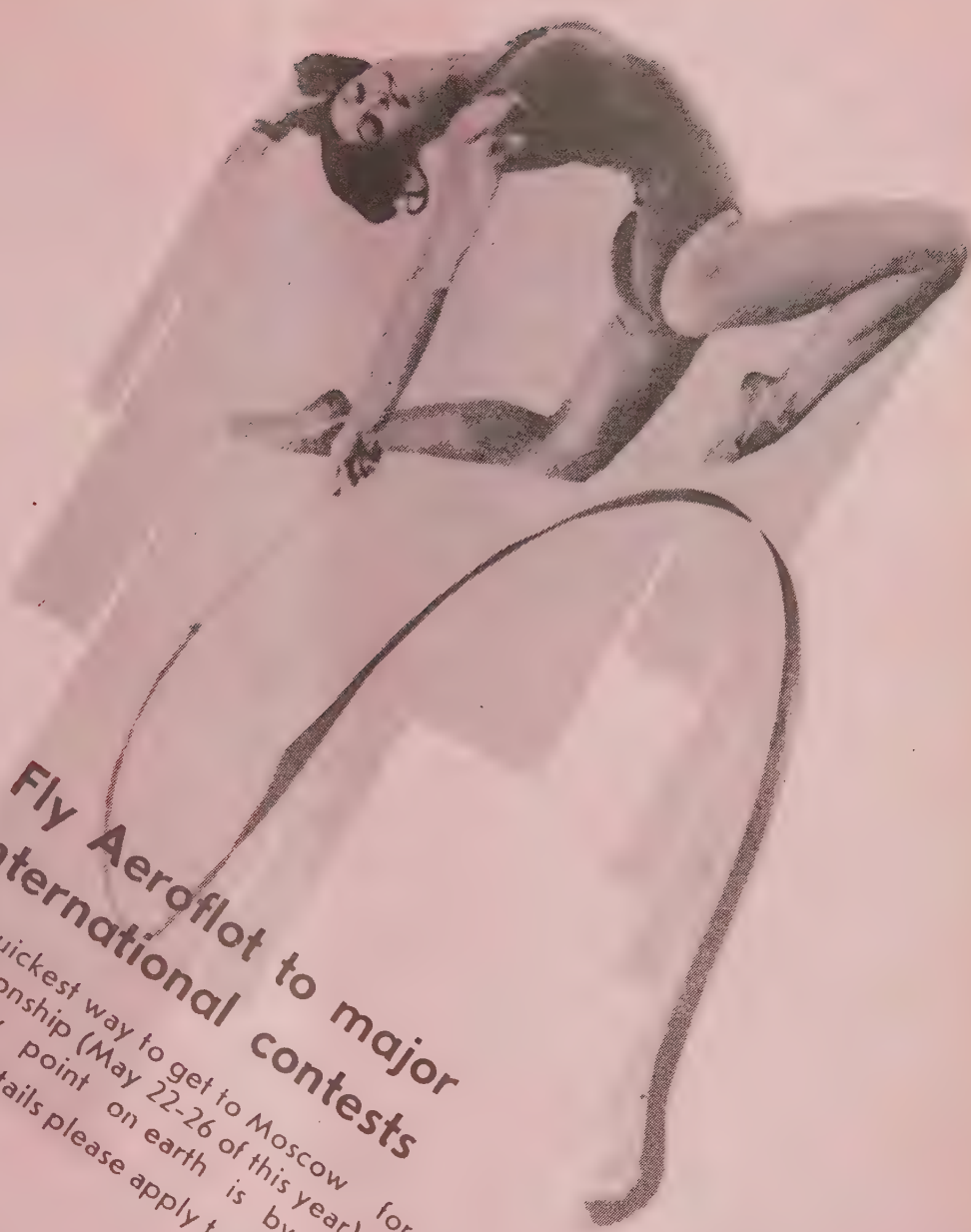


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The Unforgettable Twenty Minutes

A teacher by profession, I have lived a long life. I am sending you this brief message in the hope of seeing it published.

While in the Soviet capital, we visited Lenin's Mausoleum and spent 20 minutes there. But those 20 minutes seemed like 20 centuries in the Land of the Wise. We seemed to have travelled through time from the thinkers of the past to Karl Marx and Lenin.

The great Lenin never stood for inactivity and acceptance, but dedicated his life

to the struggle. We are following in his footsteps. He had no time for egotism or petty charity. He devoted his whole life to humanity. Recalling his teaching we vow: "Each for all!" Lenin undertook to defend the workers and peasants, all the disinherited by boldly advancing along the road predicted by Karl Marx. We are following the example he set.

KIEU HOA

Nghe Tinh Province,
Vietnam

OPINIONS

A Wind of Change

The serious changes taking place within the country and the Communist Party have been long awaited and are therefore a cause for joy. No doubt I am saying nothing

new in voicing my conviction that people are accepting all that has been happening since April 1985 not simply as an accelerated development of the

economy, science and technology, but as a social, moral process.

Y. POLESHCHUK

Vladivostok, U.S.S.R.

A SCHOLAR'S VIEW

Seeing Is Believing

As a scholar from a Third World country, I follow closely the processes that lately have been at work in the Soviet Union, particularly in connection with their impact on Soviet relations with Third World states. The U.S.S.R. is a major business partner of India, as it is, for that matter, of many other newly independent states. Hence, the further adjustment and intensification of the Soviet economy in line with the decisions of the 27th Communist Party Congress are already having an unquestionably positive impact on Moscow's commercial and economic links with the developing countries, and will continue to do so. In turn, broader co-operation between these countries and yours will strengthen the potential of forces working to maintain international stability.

Mr Gorbachev and your other leaders have unpromisingly laid bare the problems and boldly exposed the distortions that had accumulated in Soviet economic and social life since the early 1970s. The Soviet leader has shown determination and daring in identifying the tasks to be carried out along the path to renewal. Consequently what began as a reform is now truly a revolution.

Not long ago I was invited to the Soviet Union by its Academy of Sciences. I saw for myself the vigour with which the new Soviet leadership has undertaken to tackle the backlog of problems with the support of the whole people. It is quite plain that this leadership is endeavouring to free socialism from its self-imposed fetters and do

away with all that interferes with the complete triumph of socialist ethics in the Soviet Union. Although I do not entirely go along with Soviet ideology and social practice, on my return home I wrote a series of articles for our press to bring home to Indians that atmosphere of creative quest, innovation and democratization in every sphere of life that currently prevails in your country.

As is clear from Mr Gorbachev's pronouncement, the implementation of the policy of openness and decisive restructuring is not altogether painless. But that, in the final analysis, serves to prove the revolutionary substance of the changes your party has proposed.

Prof. BHABANI SEN GUPTA
Centre for Policy Research
Delhi, India

Doctrines of Violence

LEONID MEDVEDKO, D. Sc. (Hist.)

The Irangate has touched off a chain reaction of exposures. "Suddenly things are all coming up apart," former American diplomat Lawrence Eagleburger, who has long concerned himself with Middle East affairs, summed up the arms scandal. But was it really as sudden as all that?

Let us trace the evolution of U.S. "swindle diplomacy" in the Middle East from the time when the Arab-Israeli conflict erupted following the U.N. resolution on the division of Palestine in 1947. Against the background of this continued conflict, Washington has been trying out its expansionist doctrines there—from Truman's to Reagan's. As a result, the region has been a scene of endless wars, clashes and conflicts for four decades now.

An Onrushing Train

After the death of 200-odd U.S. Marines in Lebanon three years ago Secretary of State Shultz, asked whether he saw any light at the end of the tunnel, replied mirthlessly he could not help recalling an old proverb that the light at the end of the tunnel may turn out to be an onrushing train.

Nevertheless, since the proclamation of the Truman doctrine 40 years ago and of the Eisenhower doctrine ten years later, Washington has entangled itself in the maze of the Middle East conflict to the extent of becoming virtually a party to it. At first, though, the U.S. preferred to act behind the scenes in aggressive wars and internecine conflicts, using Israel to provoke and foment confrontation. Gradually, Washington itself began to take armed action against Arab countries under the guise of "peacemaking" and "combating terrorism." Suffice it to recall last year's air raids on Libyan cities or the shellings of the Lebanese coast by the battleship New Jersey. Now the White House is again all set to embark on new adventures in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf zone. And what about the unceasing

blackmailing of Syria and the undeclared war against Afghanistan? All these are manifestations of the imperialist essence of the policy of U.S. ruling quarters.

Incidentally, Irangate is also an episode—and perhaps the most dramatic—in the scandalous record of failures of the White House's postwar doctrines as regards the Middle East. According to the Washington Post, Reagan is the seventh president in succession "to step through a trapdoor in to a crisis precipitated by his own secret decision-making."

Zeroing In

It was President Truman who started "zeroing in" his guns on the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean in March 1947, when he proclaimed the doctrine of "fighting communism" (meaning the national liberation movement) in the region. This doctrine underlay the U.S. decision to grant \$400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey. Neither did Truman make any secret of his long-standing pro-Zionist sympathies at the time. The White House and the Central Intelligence Agency, established in the years of Truman's presidency, spared no effort to help Israel win the so-called first Palestinian war of 1948-49.

It was profoundly symbolic, Wilbur Eveland, a former CIA-man, reminisces in his memoirs, that the agency launched vigorous subversive activity against Moslem states almost simultaneously with Israel's appearance on the Middle East scene. The State Department became then—as far as the Middle East was concerned, anyway—an appendage to the CIA and to the

National Security Council which was set up at that time.

Early this year the French magazine *Le Monde diplomatique* carried an article entitled "The Middle East: 40 Years of Conflict and Crisis Rooted in the West's Constant Interference." It is Washington, the magazine recalls, that has all these years been helping Tel Aviv to stir up the anthill of Middle East terrorism instead of trying to resolve the Palestine issue. Washington—now categorically opposed to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state—voted at the November 1947 session of the U.N. General Assembly for the resolution to divide Palestine into two separate states, Jewish and Arab, and even took part in the conciliation commission set up in 1949 with a view to having Israel withdraw from the territory intended for the state of Palestine Arabs. However, President Truman and his successors soon forgot their fine-sounding words about every nation's right to self-determination. They abandoned all plans for the formation of a Palestinian state, thus "increasing the danger of radicalization of Palestinians."

As the F.R.G. magazine *Der Spiegel* put it, Dwight Eisenhower, the first postwar Republican President, "got still more deeply involved" in international adventures and crises. It all started with the overthrow of the legitimate Mossadegh government (Operation Ajax) by CIA agents in January 1953 and the restoration of the Shah's regime in Iran. Then Eisenhower, his Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and CIA chief Allen Dulles tried hard to turn the Suez crisis to U.S. advantage, especially after the Israeli-British-French aggression against Egypt in 1956.

Eisenhower and the Dulles brothers were all out to draw the Arab countries into anti-Soviet military pacts and alliances. After President Nasser of Egypt had refused to join one such "holy alliance," the CIA, besides armed aggression, unleashed a secret war against that country aimed at overthrowing the Nasser regime. Shortly after the tripartite aggression of 1956 Allen Dulles threatened that the U.S. would hit Nasser with a missionary baton so as to teach other budding neutralists a lesson. By the "missionary baton" he

"Whether we like it or not, we must recognize that the victory which we have won has placed upon the American people the continuing burden of responsibility of world leadership."

(President Harry Truman, 1945)

probably meant agents smuggled into Egypt to make an attempt on the President's life. Miles Copeland, a former CIA agent in Cairo, testified that at least three groups of hired gunmen had been infiltrated into Egypt on that "mission."

Filling the "Vacuum"

Within about a decade of the proclamation of the Truman doctrine, Washington had elevated terrorism to the rank of its official policy with regard to many countries in that vast Islamic region. John Foster Dulles, the chief cold-war ideologist, regarded the region, no longer a fief of European colonialists, as a "power vacuum" threatened with the "spread of communism." Shortly after the withdrawal



Americans in Beirut, 1983.

of the British, French and Israeli troops from Egypt on March 9, 1957, the U.S. Congress endorsed a special programme to render American economic and military aid to Middle East countries. This approach came to be known as the Eisenhower doctrine. It served as the material foundation for the "power vacuum filling" theory.

Under Eisenhower, covert and overt subversive operations were carried out by the U.S. in the Middle East under the pretext of "filling the vacuum." Under Reagan, this is justified by the need to "put out fires" or "light terrorism," but in fact amounts to the escalation of U.S. state terrorism and aggression.

Trying to dissociate himself from

those directly responsible for the Iran-gate scandal, President Reagan says he is carrying on Eisenhower's "power peacemaking" policy. In this case, however, continuity lies not in "peacemaking" but rather in the aggressiveness and adventurism of the doctrines that bear the stamp of cold war. Eisenhower inherited the cold war from Truman, and Reagan resurrected it as part of his crusade against the "empire of evil" and "international terrorism." Moreover, he is carrying on his predecessor's line of direct confrontation not only with the Soviet Union but also with national liberation movements in the so-called "regions of U.S. vital interests" formerly regarded by Washington as a "power vacuum."

The neocolonialist essence of the "vacuum theory" was expressed in the view that the Middle East people were unable to manage their own affairs after the departure of the colonialists from the region. This theory, elevated to the rank of official doctrine, was supposed to camouflage the American expansion in the Middle East and North Africa. In fact, it was an early manifestation of Reagan's current concept of neoglobalism: the U.S. reserved the right to use—as part of its global "massive retaliation strategy"—armed force wherever it saw "the threat of communism." This policy combined traditional colonialism with its emphasis on sheer force, and the neocolonialist tactics of using local reactionaries and various military blocs.

Notably, the adoption of the Eisenhower doctrine was immediately followed by the U.S. joining the Baghdad pact (formally, its military committee) which Washington had earlier preferred to remain outside for tactical considerations. A month later, the U.S. tried to hammer together, under its aegis, another bloc composed of Arab monarchies (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq). This scheme did not take long to prove futile. As a result, most Moslem countries rejected the "vacuum theory" as an insult to their national dignity and sovereignty.

Sources of Terrorism

After the failure of the tripartite aggression against Egypt, the U.S. selected Syria as a new target for its political intrigues. After this Arab

country had rejected the Eisenhower doctrine outright, the U.S. stepped up its pressure on it. The tense atmosphere that surrounded Syria then was very like the situation today. At the time, Syria and Lebanon alone were considered to be threatened with "communist infiltration." Today's chief bugaboo is "international terrorism"; the West sees its sources not only in these two countries, but also in Iran and Libya and occasionally in South Yemen, Tunisia and Algeria.

In fact, the sources of terrorism, in Iran included, are to be looked for in the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. *Le Monde Diplomatique* stressed in this connection that none other than the CIA reinstated the Shah in August 1953, whereupon Iran plunged into "an endless night of terror"; the Shah's secret police, the SAVAK staffed with



Americans in Beirut, 1958.

FBI- and CIA-trained men, cast its sinister shadow over the country.

The Eisenhower doctrine of decades ago worked on more or less the same principles as the Reagan doctrine does now. Threats were used, conspiracies hatched, terrorist and subversive acts committed, international conflicts provoked, and military muscles flexed. Here are but a few examples.

A coup was staged in Jordan in April 1957, with Suleiman Nabulsi's government overthrown as a result of a plot engineered by U.S. ambassador Mallory and the U.S. military attaché. In the summer and autumn of 1957, CIA

"Destiny has laid upon our country the responsibility of the free world's leadership."

(President Dwight Eisenhower, 1953)

agents and U.S. embassy staff members conspired against the government in Damascus but were caught at it in good time. Wherever their attempts to install their stooges in office by provoking internal confusion failed, the Americans put pressure to bear on this or that country from without, and fanned conflicts, to the point of armed clashes, between Moslem countries. Kissinger and Brzezinski in their time, and McFarlane and Poindexter, the Irangate "heroes" in the 1980s, carried on the "powder-keg peacemaking" that John Foster Dulles and his associates had engaged in in the 1950s.

Direct Intervention

The National Security Council, which came to the fore under Eisenhower, was instructed to plan "widescale interventionist operations in various regions of the Moslem East. The documents drawn up by the NSC expanded the parameters of the

own initiative. The aggression began with almost simultaneous American and British landings (code-named Golden Fish and Blue Bats) in Lebanon and Jordan in the summer of 1958. This intervention, like the American-Israeli-NATO invasion of Lebanon in 1982-83, was seen as a prelude to a larger-scale aggression. Its purpose was not only to suppress the Iraqi revolution, but to prevent a revolutionary explosion in the countries bordering on Iraq.

Washington and London used the presence of their troops in Lebanon and Jordan to interfere unceremoniously in these countries' internal affairs. Hundreds of Arab patriots were thrown into jails or concentration camps. In Lebanon, the Americans tried to foment a civil war under cover of peacemaking (exactly as they were to do later, in the 1980s). As early as that, plans were already being nurtured to form an international combat force with U.S. and British contingents taking part—the prototype of NATO's "multinational force" that landed in

in that the strategy of "direct confrontation" with the Soviet Union has come to include stepped-up confrontation of the United States with liberation movements in various regions as well as with many developing countries that have taken an anti-imperialist stand.

Previously (before Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982, at any rate) the United States preferred to act behind the scenes in the Arab-Israeli wars. Eisenhower and his successors in the White House had enough common sense not to carry their "brinkmanship" too far and to keep their allies from risky adventures fraught with the danger of crises that could get out of control.

As for the Reagan administration, it not only initiates such dangerous adventures, but drags its NATO allies (among whom Israel now has honorary status) along, too.

Washington and Tel Aviv are waging open and covert wars against Moslem states on the fictitious pretexts of "guaranteeing security," "taking preventive action," and "fighting international terrorism." It was under such slogans that Israel unleashed, 20 years ago, its June 1967 aggression, the consequences of which are with us to this day. It was the first in the series of aggressive actions that followed. Suffice it to recall the air raids on Baghdad, Tunis, Tripoli and Benghazi, and intervention in Lebanon.

The fact that the U.S. and Israel possess nuclear weapons adds to the danger of local conflicts developing into a global catastrophe. Alarming symptoms of this are much in evidence. Attempts to combat individual terrorist acts by methods of state terrorism only serve to aggravate the situation and cause further terrorist acts. For instance, another "retaliatory action" taken by the U.S. and Israel against Lebanon on the pretext of, say, "freeing hostages" may well cause a new wave of terrorism, which will spill over Lebanon's borders.

In the Middle East both the strategy and diplomacy of the imperialist states have found themselves in a vicious circle. Various versions of the American "peace models" offered by Washington in pursuance of the Camp David process have resulted in fresh bloodshed; the freakish hybrid of "peace American style" and "war

"We cannot shy away from our global responsibility."

(President Ronald Reagan, 1983)

Eisenhower doctrine, so to say, and introduced a number of substantial amendments to it. In "filling the vacuum" the emphasis was shifted from carrot to whip.

CIA men Eveland and Copeland were let in on one such top-secret document (No. 5401) at the beginning of 1958. It set out plans for the complete destruction of Arab oil fields in the event of a Russian invasion in the Middle East. The mission was to have been carried out by the U.S. armed forces and the CIA, which were to step in not only "in the event of a Russian invasion," but also in the event of the "communist threat" arising in the Middle East. The CIA was told to prevent the left taking power by any means. If secret operations failed to neutralize the "communist threat," the CIA was to set the stage for U.S. armed forces to come into play.

Washington was of the opinion that, following the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq in July 1958, such a "threat" had reached an almost critical point virtually throughout the Moslem East. It launched the myth of a "threat" to the Arab countries on the part of Egypt's President Nasser. A hostile campaign, similar to that now in progress against Syria and Libya, was started against Egypt. As distinct from the tripartite aggression of 1956, the U.S. this time unleashed a joint intervention in the Middle East on its

Lebanon in the 1980s. At that time, however, the attempt to give the intervention a semblance of "international sanction" failed. The "power doctrine" proved impotent. The United States was compelled to withdraw its troops from Lebanon (their pullout was completed on October 25, 1958). The last British units left Jordan a week later, on November 2.

Where Is the Way Out?

The American-British policy of "filling the vacuum" turned out to be counterproductive: the Baghdad Pact soon fell apart, to be followed by its successor, the CENTO bloc.

For all the continuity of U.S. policy with regard to the Middle East, one cannot fail to note certain changes it has recently undergone. The CIA's subversive operations, the provoking of internal crises and bloodshed, the encouragement and support of Israel's aggressive actions not only against its neighbours but against other countries as well, the fanning of internecine fratricidal conflicts in the Islamic world—all these have remained in the arsenal of Washington's neocolonialist methods. However, the Reagan doctrine differs from the Eisenhower doctrine

Israeli style" has not taken root on Middle East soil. The failure of American "peacemakers" in the Middle East has shown that a separate approach to the region's problems has obviously reached an impasse. It was not for nothing that the U.N. General Assembly adopted, in 1986, resolution 41/43 D, which not merely confirms the need for an immediate convocation of an international peace conference on the Middle East, but approves the proposal to set up a preparatory committee with all the permanent members of the Security Council taking part. This move would pave the way for a settlement of the conflicts in the Middle East by joint efforts—something the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries have repeatedly and persistently advocated. The wide support for this Soviet proposal in the United Nations and at the 8th non-aligned summit in Harare shows that the struggle for a just and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East and for the convocation of an international Middle East peace conference has entered an entirely new stage.

The Soviet Union is actively working for the settlement of all regional conflicts in general, and the relaxation of tensions in all parts of the planet through negotiations, with the legitimate interests of all countries taken into account, and without any outside interference. The Soviet Union opposes its consistent peace policy to Washington's invariably aggressive ideas and "doctrines" all along the line and in all spheres, both on earth and in space.

The package of well-known Soviet foreign policy initiatives and the Delhi declaration on principles for a nuclear-weapon-free and non-violent world contain, among other things, proposals for the settlement of regional conflicts. They could provide the cornerstone for a strong edifice of reliable security. All that is required is to abandon the stereotypes of old thinking, all doctrines based on the use of violence, and all attempts to achieve dominance over other nations and meddle in their internal affairs.

A non-violent world is a world in which no state resorts to force.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Adding Lustre to the City's Name

Part of the charm of Prague and, indeed, the whole of Czechoslovakia lies in the efficient, careful and discreet way the public services are run. The people of Prague have long enjoyed a good public service industry, although it too has its problems.

Special Branch of Economy

What is the philosophy behind the services sphere in Czechoslovakia? You can get a competent answer at the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Socialist Republic. The director of the Local Industries and Services Department in the Interior Ministry, Jiri Zaruba, is chief coordinator of the extensive services industry in the Czech Republic (Slovakia has a similar but separate services industry).

Services is a special branch of the economy. The administrative setup in the republic does not, however, include such a government ministry, with its unwieldy bureaucracy. Formerly there was such a ministry, with a long name and large staff. But practice has shown that local national committees at every level have a better knowledge of the problems involved in the services and are best placed to solve them. The small department in the Czech Interior Ministry acts as a clearing house that sums up information and monitors the implementation of government decisions in this sphere.

The Czech public services run by the national committees employ 160,000 people. In 1985 this work force rendered services to the tune of 20,000 million crowns, a huge sum by any standards for a republic with a population of nine million.

It should be explained that every region in the Czech Republic has at least two organizations offering everyday services to the population. They do not compete with, but complement each other. One is responsible for barbers, photographic studios, dry cleaning, laundries, the repair of flats, the taxi service and undertakers, and the other—for the repair of shoes and clothes and for the maintenance of household appliances: radio and tele-

vision sets, refrigerators, washing machines, and so on. Moreover, some service enterprises manufacture goods for which industry cannot fully meet the demand. These are usually small lines of fashionable goods.

Since 1983 the services have operated on an austerity basis, i.e., minimizing the consumption of raw and other materials without cutting the volume of services. Economists explained what this means in practice.

Formerly the main concern was the gross volume of services rendered. All public service shops, tailors and dress makers sought to report a high figure for material consumption. The more materials used the better, it was assumed, the shop was performing. The shop did not care about the cost of the raw materials, which were supplied by higher bodies. Supposing you want to repair a tape recorder. It is possible to take apart and repair the electric motor for 10-15 crowns, or simply fit a new motor for 970 crowns. This means less trouble for the repair shops and a higher bill for the customer. The result was that the cost of services was rising at the expense of the customer, creating an illusion of improvement (calculated from the consumption of materials). This wasteful practice has now been abandoned. Now the performance of the services is assessed by the end result, which means not only the production cost, but also the cost of the components, for which the repair shop has to pay itself rather than getting them free.

"Today we reject any excuses to the effect that conditions for the development of the services sector do not exist," Interior Ministry officials say. "If problems are tackled vigorously, they are usually solved. If there is a will, premises for shops can be found. The ground floors of residential blocks and outbuildings can easily be converted for these purposes."

Thousands of public service and repair shops have been opened in converted premises in the Czech Republic over the past three years, while the existing ones have expanded the range of services offered. Many of them have extended their working hours and are open on Saturdays, which has

also had the effect of cutting the time for fulfilling orders. Old-age pensioners and housewives are invited to work in this sphere.

What Kovosluzba Can Do?

When my TV set broke down I rang Kovosluzba, the biggest service firm in Prague which has a monopoly on the repair of all household appliances. A repairman came to my flat, changed his boots for carpet slippers, as is customary in Prague, and quickly fixed my television. He then inquired whether any other household appliances needed to be repaired. He asked me to pay the bill through the savings bank and withdrew politely, making it clear that he did not expect a tip.

Kovosluzba has a sort of code for its workers which includes 270 types of service and a dozen rules to be observ-



This is how the problem of municipal recreation zones has been solved in Prague.

ed in rendering the services. Orders are taken by telephone. Conversations between the answering clerk and the clients are recorded on tape, which is periodically checked. If it is found that the clerk has been indiscreet he can be disciplined and even dismissed.

Kovosluzba is just one part of the services industry. The huge army of gardeners in the Czech Republic are served by the Semptra association. Its retail shops offer everything necessary to run a private garden plot: various seeds, saplings, seedlings and garden implements. You can also order a truckload of peat or soil and indicate the time when you want it delivered. In addition to economic benefits, Semptra saves people time.

Apart from state-run service enterprises (there are 18 of them), Prague has more than 20 cooperative enterprises run by the national committees. The profits from such cooperative shops must as a minimum cover employees' wages as these are not subsidized by the state.

Assessing the situation in the service industry as a whole, Martin Polak, deputy mayor of Prague, said that the bulk of services was still offered by the state-run shops, which employ 42,000 people. He showed us a catalogue of services published by the National Committee of Prague, containing information on service enterprises: addresses, telephone numbers and the deadlines for fulfilling orders. The book was compiled by a computer, whose memory bank keeps a record of all the services offered to Prague's million people. Printed in an edition of 50,000 copies, it sold out in a few days. An additional issue of 20,000 copies also sold out immediately. A third edition of the catalogue (50,000 copies) is now being prepared.

The people at the National Committee are convinced that the catalogue is the best way to control the operation of service enterprises. It offers a description of every service shop and the client can lodge a complaint to the managers and to the National Committee if he finds that the service he has received does not measure up to that promised.

The main concern now is to cut the time for fulfilling orders. Incidentally, if the deadline is not met, 30 per cent of the price is knocked off. In recent years, however, this has seldom happened, because the capacity of the service industry is adequate. Take, for example, dry cleaners and laundries, which are open from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. There are more points for receiving laundry in Prague than seems justified by economic considerations. But the city authorities believe the extra cost of maintaining so many laundry reception points is justified as it saves people time by bringing laundries closer to their homes. In a departure from usual practice, the resulting deficit of 22 million crowns was covered from the city budget.

Services in Prague can also be obtained from 1,300 private individuals and many small tailor's shops. Last year alone the district national committees granted more than 1,000 licences to pensioners and housewives, as well as

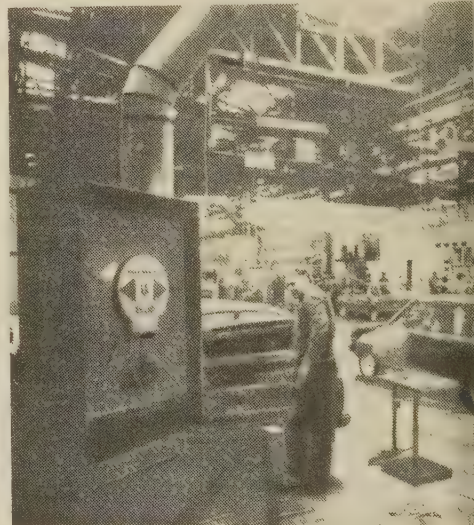
to government employees who wish to work in the service sphere in their spare time. There are also private shops for the repair of sporting gear and typewriters, as well as private barbers, furriers and jewellers. They charge the same prices as the state-run service shops and have to pay a tax.

This is the state of affairs today.

Under the plan for the next five years, the volume of services will increase by about 15 per cent, while the number of employees will grow by just 0.5 per cent. This is to be made possible mainly by improving the quality of service.

"The client does not care if we meet our targets or not as long as his demand is fully met," say the officials in charge of the service industry in the Czech Republic.

To this end the frame of reference of the national committees will broaden.



In Czechoslovakia getting your car serviced is no problem.

They will draw up and implement plans for the social development of the region, while the central planning bodies will concentrate on distributing raw and other materials and energy, and mapping out overall strategies. The new system is now being tested in the South Czech region, and the results of the experiment will then be extended to other parts of the country.

VALERY RZHEVSKY
TASS correspondent
exclusive for New Times

Prague

Policy of Sanctions

Boomerangs

The U.S. Department of Commerce has decided to continue to restrict American exports to the Soviet Union. Having informed Congress that sanctions are to be prolonged by another year, Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige explained that the move had been made on the recommendation of the Secretary of State, as such control over export was essential to further the foreign policy of the United States.

SERGEI ABRAMOV

Indeed, our trade with the U.S. is anything but steady. Its rate depends on the kind of approach—businesslike and positive or political and negative—that predominates in East-West economic cooperation at this or that juncture. Washington resorts to force and dictat in trade as well as in its foreign policy. But it should be remembered that the U.S. is by no means our only, or even our principal trade partner.

The Soviet Union maintains economic ties with almost 150 countries. These ties are growing rapidly. In the last five-seven years alone its foreign trade increased by over 50 per cent. The exchange of licences is developing faster than trade in commodities.

On the Technological Market

It was comparatively recently, in the 1960s, that the Soviet Union began to trade in licences. From the very outset the United States and some of its allies tried to restrict the East-West exchange of new technologies because of its growing importance. Contentions were circulated about the "one-way" nature of scientific-technical cooperation with member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), the danger of "pumping" Western technology into them and thereby strengthening Soviet military-economic potential. In reality, the aim was very specific—to toughen control over exports. And the causes of these restrictions are to be sought not in the economic sphere but in politics.

Thousands of new types of machines, equipment, instruments and means of automation are annually created in the

Soviet Union, and dozens of production processes are developed or perfected. No wonder that Soviet exports of licences are increasing at a rate of 30 per cent a year and Soviet equipment and technologies are already being used in about 50 countries. For more than ten years the Soviet Union has been selling over a hundred licences annually. Soviet licences are purchased by such acknowledged leaders of capitalist industry as Mannesmann (F.R.G.), Kaiser Aluminium and ALCOA (U.S.A.), Mitsubishi (Japan) and ASEA (Sweden). The solutions to technical problems offered by Soviet licences encompass virtually all spheres of science and technology—from medicinal preparations, medical instruments and food processing to the chemical industry, metallurgy and power generation.

Soviet medicines are being purchased in large quantities by pharmaceutical companies in Britain, the United States and Japan. Among them are the cancer-suppressing preparations phthorafurum and carminomycinum, and nonachlazinum to treat the ischemic heart disease. Du Pont has purchased a licence for the sale of ethmosin in the United States. Every year 5,000 Americans literally see the light again thanks to the artificial eye lens developed by Svyatoslav Fyodorov, corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences. Besides the U.S., his invention has been patented in Britain, the F.R.G. and Italy. It is superior to foreign models in its optical properties, simplicity of implantation and, most importantly, low incidence of post-operative complications.

More than fifty blast furnaces in the F.R.G., Italy, Britain and Japan are fitted out with Soviet-developed evapora-

tive cooling systems. This has made it possible for the first time not only to use the heat of the furnace but also to cut down considerably on overall electric energy and water consumption. Specialists say that the Soviet technology for producing moulds and cores by means of liquid self-hardening moulding sands amounts to a revolution in casting and has cut manual work, noise and dust in production shops to a minimum. In Japan alone 350 firms are using such moulding sands. John Kiser, a former scientific adviser to the U.S. State Department, wrote that the Japanese steel industry is making advances by drawing on Soviet achievements. Continuous steel casting, evaporative cooling, dry quenching of coke, electroslog remelting—these are only some of the technologies purchased by such Japanese companies as Nippon Steel, Kobe Steel and Ulvac. An installation for the underground gasification of coal, built under a Soviet licence, won the praise of specialists in the United States. A spokesman for Texas Utilities Services noted that this system was tested in complex engineering and geological conditions and demonstrated the reliability, promising nature and high standard of Soviet research in this field.

A total of more than 25,000 patents for Soviet inventions have been purchased by 70 countries, with the United States accounting for 5,600 of them. But the possibilities of cooperation are much greater (in the United States, for instance, only 0.5 per cent of all Soviet inventions are protected by patents).

We not only sell but also buy licences. As many as 1,660 U.S. patents have been registered in the U.S.S.R. This is natural, as no single country is capable of being in the forefront in all fields of science, technology and production. So the U.S.S.R. draws both on its own achievements and on world scientific, technological and industrial experience.

The Price of Embargoes

The U.S. administration has decided to extend the Export Control Act in order to prevent the transfer of high technology equipment to communist countries. The pretext is a standard one: to prevent the transfer of equipment and technology which the Russians could use for military purposes. Washington prohibits the sale of virtually all samples of machinery and equipment of civilian designation and is intensifying its system of control over the export of modern technology. Moreover, it is supplementing this con-

control with bilateral agreements with neutral countries on the strict observance of restrictions and bans. A special monitoring service has even been set up to prevent the access of new technology not only to socialist but also to other countries that seem "unreliable" to Washington. The concept of a "dosed" or "controlled" lag has even appeared within NATO. It is contended that if modern equipment and technology is denied to CMEA countries (or made available to them only four years after it has been mastered in the West), the latter will lag chronically behind in their development.

It should be noted in this connection that the Soviet Union's scientific, technical and economic potential allows it to produce industrial goods in no way inferior and often even superior to those of Western make. Incidentally, this conclusion is also contained in a report drawn up by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment. The report observes that it is hard to name types of equipment received by the U.S.S.R. from the West that it could not develop itself. This applies to the technology for producing synthetic diamonds, as well as to vacuum steel furnaces and gas-pumping installations, which the U.S.S.R. initially tried to purchase in the West but was refused. Between 1981 and 1985 the United States, Western Europe and Japan bought 2.5 times more licences and patents for modern technology from the Soviet Union than they sold it.

West European countries account for 80 per cent of trade between members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Eastern Europe, including the U.S.S.R., while the share of the United States is a mere three per cent. For the EEC countries the U.S.S.R. and other CMEA countries have become the second biggest market for industrial equipment after the United States. As for France and the F.R.G., in some years they sold more industrial equipment to the CMEA countries than to the U.S. That is why Business Week was not far from the truth when it reported that control over exports to the Soviet Union was unlikely to yield any political advantages and that in the long run the American people and American business would be the losers.

And that is exactly what is happening. Brazil, Argentina, Canada and other countries used the American embargo on fodder grain to increase their own sales. The grain embargo was in force for 16 months and cost the United States \$22 billion. Japanese Komatsu pipe layers were used in the construction of the transcontinental gas pipeline instead of American Caterpillars. This and other American companies, which had initially taken part

in the "gas for pipes" deal, lost a total of \$1.2 billion. Senator Bentsen described the U.S. "control" over the export of oil and gas equipment as a classic example of self-inflicted damage. Prior to the embargo, American firms accounted for some 35 per cent of the Soviet Union's oil equipment import. Then this share plummeted to 0.4 per cent. Had the American share remained at the previous level, American oil and gas companies could have received Soviet orders to the sum of \$1.8 billion between 1973 and 1983, and not \$118 million as it actually turned out.

Eventually Washington came to realize this. On January 21, Secretary of Commerce Baldrige lifted the restrictions on the export of oil and gas equipment to the U.S.S.R. on the grounds that they did not conform to the criteria set by Congress and had damaged vital economic interests of the United States.

The commercial reputation of American business, and hence its competitiveness, is another victim of the policy of boycotts, embargoes and sanctions. Both have been seriously dented on the Soviet market. After all, oil and gas equipment is produced in 38 countries, including Japan and Washington's NATO allies, which did not introduce restrictions on exporting it. That is why, Senator Bentsen said, the U.S.S.R. can buy this equipment, while the embargo only benefits the foreign competitors of American firms. The Senator's predictions were realized. The F.R.G., Italy, France and Japan are now among the top exporters of oil and gas equipment to the U.S.S.R.

Mutually Advantageous Cooperation

The policy of bans has also been extended to scientific and technical cooperation. But a team of American experts commissioned by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences has arrived at the conclusion that contacts with Soviet scientists would be very useful, and curtailment of these contacts harmful, to the United States. Similar conclusions have been drawn by other researchers as well. The following fact illustrates the importance of scientific exchanges. Cooperation in MHD-technology (the creation of an engine in which the energy of gas moving through a magnetic field is converted directly into electricity) enabled the United States to save more than \$100 million.

Yet five years ago the U.S. administration imposed a ban on scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union. Even American newspapers described as utterly unconvincing the White House's argument that exchanging scientific

ideas with the Russians is tantamount to exporting prohibited products. Restrictions have been imposed on the issue of entry visas to scientists and specialists from socialist countries who work in modern spheres of science and technology and have been invited by U.S. scientific and research organizations and industrial corporations.

Here, too, the losers are Western scientists, who have missed an opportunity to avail themselves of the results of Soviet research or to use unique scientific installations created in our country. On the other hand, restrictions on scientific exchanges with the West have stimulated the appropriate research based on the scientific, production and technical possibilities of the U.S.S.R. and the whole socialist community.

It will be recalled that in fundamental research, which ensures revolutionary breakthroughs in equipment and technology, the U.S.S.R. is far ahead of the United States and the Common Market countries. The Soviet Union has the world's biggest "portfolio of ideas." In fact, of every five inventions registered annually worldwide, one originates in the Soviet Union. It is noteworthy that when introducing sanctions the U.S. administration did not extend them to some fields of cooperation. These are thermonuclear fusion, electrical metallurgy, cardiology, oncology and space medicine. As was admitted recently by Frank Press, a former science and technology adviser to the U.S. President, cooperation with the U.S.S.R. in these fields has directly benefited the United States.

Is there any hope of resuscitating trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation between our countries? Favourable possibilities are being opened up by an agreement on cooperation signed in April 1986 by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. and the National Academy of Sciences of the United States. It provides for meetings and exchanges of scientists. This means the restoration of provisions that existed in previous agreements and were suspended by the American side. The agreement also initiates new exchange programmes.

Soviet and American scientists could pool their efforts in harnessing thermonuclear fusion and in space research. Among other challenges confronting the world and demanding efforts for their solution are overpopulation, famine and other social problems. In other words, the fields for concerted action are numerous. All that is necessary is to remove the obstacles that impede scientific, technical and technological exchange.

A Thorny Path of the Revolution

OLEG TSVETAYEV

Looking back on my years in Ghana, the first thing I see in my mind's eye is the square in the centre of Accra with its three stone columns and the arch with the inscription: "Freedom and Justice. 1957." On March 6 of that year the former British colony, the Gold Coast—the first black African country to win independence—began its new life.

The Ghanaian people's struggle for national independence is inseparably linked with the name of their first president—Kwame Nkrumah. In the short time that he led the country he achieved a great deal. It was under him that free education and a free health service were introduced, a university opened in Kumasi, a modern highway built between Accra and Tema, and a hydropower station constructed on the Volta reservoir, which provides many areas with electricity, and even transmits it to neighbouring countries.

The military coup in 1966 ended Nkrumah's fruitful activities. The military regimes that followed in rapid succession, like the Limann civilian government, were unable to bring the people any benefits. They were riddled with corruption, and the Ghanaian economy was reduced to a dire state.

On December 31, 1981, patriotic military forces led by Air Force Captain Jerry Rawlings overthrew the Limann government and seized power. The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) was proclaimed the supreme body of power. Jerry Rawlings set out to involve industrial and office workers and farmers as widely as possible in running the country and building an independent economy. Committees for the defence of the revolution began to be established throughout the country. As a Novosti Press Agency correspondent in Ghana, I had the opportunity to see how one of these committees worked.

The car travelled along a winding mountain road. On both sides there were hills covered with tropical vegetation: the long wide leaves of banana trees, the crowns of baobab trees, multicoloured acacia, and palms. And then a cocoa plantation—the stunted

trees laden with large fruit—the famous Ghanaian cocoa beans, the main source of the country's foreign currency earnings. There was a time when Ghana led the world in the production of cocoa beans. Now it has been outstripped by Brazil and Côte d'Ivoire, but the quality of the Ghanaian beans remains unsurpassed.

The cocoa bean trees give way to tall palms with clusters of red fruit, from which palm oil is extracted—one of the staple foods of the population. It is also a valuable raw material for the cosmetics industry.

The town of Koforidua, the centre of the Eastern Region, is virtually swamped in greenery. At the secretariat of the regional committee for the defence of the revolution we were met by its coordinator, Kwame Affu. A lean man of medium height, he brimmed with energy and enthusiasm. A graduate of the mathematics department of the University of Ghana in Legon, he could have chosen science as his career. But, as he put it, he has dedicated himself to the revolution.

"Our secretariat," Kwame Affu told us, "coordinates the activities of all the committees for the defence of the revolution in the region. Committees now exist in every town, every village, at factories and offices. In all, in our region alone there are more than 6,000 committees."

"Who belong to these organizations and what do they do?"

"Since ours is an agricultural area," Kwame Affu explained, "most of the members are farmers. But there are also a certain number of workers, teachers and office employees. The main function is a creative one: in response to appeals from the committees people assist in building schools, hospitals and bridges, repairing roads, maintaining order and keeping their district clean. Another important duty of the committees is fighting corruption and black marketeering."

The committees for the defence of the revolution are genuine bodies of the people and they play an important part in the country's political life.

Young people are very active in



A street scene in Accra, capital of Ghana.

Ghana. Whenever difficulties arise in bringing in the crops, thousands of young men and women, mostly students, help the farmers. They build hospitals, schools and granaries, repair bridges and roads, and help to fight pests.

The present authorities have inherited a difficult situation. Economic problems had been piling up for years, especially during the period of the Limann government (1979-81), which pursued a policy of "liberalizing trade" and other measures that enriched a handful of merchants and industrialists. It was no accident that in 1981 inflation was running at almost 100 per cent, and many factories were working at only 15-20 per cent of capacity.

The PNDC began to tackle the problem and started to draw up a four-year programme for the rehabilitation of the economy. The first results produced a 5 per cent increase in the gross national product in 1986, and a drop in the inflation rate to 20 per cent. Exports of cocoa beans rose by more than a quarter. There are signs of growth in the mining, woodworking, textile and some other industries.

Droughts are the scourge of agricul-

Outside a shop in Accra where Soviet periodicals are sold.

TASS photos



ture in Ghana. I have on a number of occasions seen parched fields of corn, cassava, yams—the main food crops. At such times it is a common sight to see exhausted peasants praying in the fields for rain and half-starved people in the towns. But even in hard years working people in Ghana do not lose heart: they dig irrigation channels and reservoirs and set up joint farms. Today—and it is important to note that this is the result of the collective efforts of the working people—the threat of hunger is receding. Moreover, in recent years the farmers have brought in crops unheard of in the past. Ghana has even begun to export corn, sweet potatoes, ginger and pepper....

A high price is having to be paid for the rebuilding of the economy. Not having the necessary financial resources itself, Ghana turned for help to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which provides loans on very harsh conditions. As a result, the country's debt rose to \$1.6 billion. It is believed that in 1986 two thirds of its export earnings had to be allocated for the repayment of short-term loans. Under pressure from the IMF, Ghana has stopped subsidizing a number of prime necessities, and devalued its national currency—the cedi. This in turn has led to sharp price increases. And although in 1986 the minimum daily wage of industrial and office workers was raised almost sixfold, rising prices are virtually cancelling this out. The living standard of the population remains low.

Gone are the times of colonialism, not to speak of the slave trade. The only reminders of those dark days are the gloomy fortresses along the coastline—in Elmina, Cape Coast, Apam and other towns to which the slave traders herded thousands of Africans before shipping them to America.

Today the colonial plantation owners in their pith helmets and with whips in their hands have been replaced by polite gentlemen sitting in the offices of foreign banks and various companies. In Tema I had occasion to meet

one such gentleman—the manager of the American Volta Aluminium Company (VALCO) John Smith. He tried to convince me that his company was doing everything possible to foster Ghana's prosperity, and even quoted facts and figures. Meanwhile in the Ghanaian press I found an entirely different version of the company's activities; in the past few years its clear profits amounted to \$100 million. That is largely the outcome of the shackling terms of the agreements forced on Ghana under previous regimes. The company pays no tax on its profits, and for the use of Ghana's electricity it pays what are probably the lowest rates in the world.

The positive changes in Ghana's economic performance in the past few years are indisputable. They have been achieved, as has already been pointed out, first and foremost thanks to the efforts of the working people. But these achievements could have been even greater had it not been for imperialist interference in Ghana's internal affairs. And the imperialists are not just interfering, they are engaged in subversive activities, using reactionary elements within Ghana itself, as well as the counter-revolutionaries who fled to the West.

American special services began their efforts to undermine the present regime immediately after the revolutionary coup. Just two recent facts will serve as an illustration.

In March 1986 the ship Nobistor was detained in Brazil with 9 mercenaries on board. They had been recruited by the Americans for the purpose of overthrowing the Ghanaian government.

At the end of 1985 four American diplomats working for the CIA were expelled from Ghana. They had been caught in subversive activities. CIA agents recruited from among the local population were exposed and arrested. Washington responded by stopping economic aid to Ghana in 1986.

The United States is resorting to dirty tricks to make the Ghanaians give up their fight for a better future.

Burma is not a country that makes headlines. It is a country yet to be discovered by the rest of the world. While neighbouring Thailand attracts more than two million foreign tourists a year, Burma is visited by no more than 30,000. Not that there is nothing to see: one has only to think of its unique Buddhist pagodas.

The country's main wealth is rice, a labour-intensive crop grown in flooded paddy fields. Rice is not only the staple food for Burma's 38 million people, but the country's main export item.

Crops in recent years have not been bad. Last year more than 14 million tons of rice were brought in; the harvest this year is expected to be at the same level. The introduction of new strains and government credits to farmers have boosted rice production by 60 per cent in the past decade.

In the countryside, private farming prevails. There are at present only about a hundred farm cooperatives, accounting for a little over 5 per cent of the national farm produce. A recent new development has been state livestock, poultry, fish and shrimp farms, which also grow fruit and vegetables and keep bees. Already the results of their activities are felt: some shops have opened in Rangoon where farm produce is sold at lower prices than in the market. In the capital's suburb of Taketa, a crocodile farm has been established with several thousand crocodiles. Burma has not yet got its own facilities for processing crocodile skins, so it exports the live reptiles in containers.

Changes

Land in Burma is publicly owned and used mainly by those who till it. But this has not always been the case. Until the early sixties the land was owned by absentee landlords and moneylenders who ruthlessly exploited landless peasants. Foreign capital dominated the country. Separatist trends in the outlying areas controlled by feudal lords had brought the Union of Burma to the brink of dissolution. In these conditions 25 years ago, on March 2, 1962, progressive officers led by general Ne Win seized power in a bloodless coup. The newly formed Revolutionary Council enunciated the course of progressive reform in its political declaration entitled "Burmese Way to Socialism."

What changes have there been in the last quarter century? Foreign-owned as-

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Reform Alongside Tradition

NIKOLAI LISTOPADOV

sets have been fully nationalized. The country is virtually closed to the transnational corporations that are lining their pockets at the expense of many developing countries. In recent years Burma has been resorting more frequently to foreign credits in developing some industries. Big and medium national capital has also been nationalized. At first this policy was pursued rather too zealously and the retail trade and arts and crafts were also nationalized. This abuse has since been redressed. In the countryside, land has been taken away from landlords and moneylenders and distributed among peasants.

These fundamental changes have been enshrined in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma adopted in January 1974 when the Revolutionary Council handed over its powers to bodies elected once every four years. The latest elections to the people's councils at every level—from the People's Assembly (parliament) to village and neighbourhood councils—took place in the autumn of 1985.

I went to one of the polling stations that sprang up in parks, squares, or by the roadside. The stations were simple bamboo shelters.

The polling station I visited was near the world-famous Shwe Dagon pagoda whose 110-metre-tall golden stupa is the symbol of the Burmese capital. I approached the commission chairman's table and asked to be allowed to put a few questions on how the voting is organized. With a smile, the chairman consented. But even if he had refused, he would have done so with a smile: smiling seems to be a national trait. The shelter contained four polling booths behind thick curtains. Voters enter them in turn: in one booth they vote for (or against) a candidate for the People's Assembly, in others for

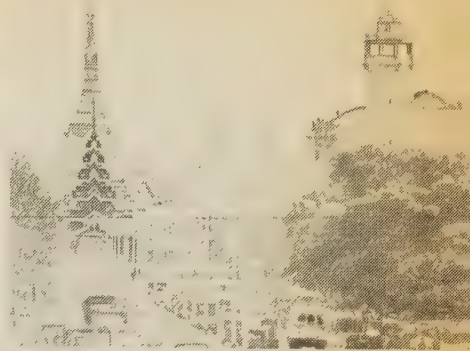
the regional, district and neighbourhood councils. Inside the booth they place ballots in one of two ballot boxes, a red and a black. A pretty girl (secretary to the commission) with the invariable charming smile explained to me that the red box was for the "ayes" and the black one for the "nays."

Under the Constitution, the sole and ruling political party is the Burma Socialist Programme Party (BSPP) founded in 1962. From a narrow cadre organization it has now grown into a mass organization with about 2.5 million full or candidate members. It supervises the work of class and public organizations: the Peasants' (about 8 million members), Workers' (about 2 million) and Young People's (2 million). The Workers' and Peasants' organizations are similar to trade unions in their functions. The armed forces are considered the vanguard of the BSPP and guarantor of socialist reform. The bulk of servicemen in the armed forces are party members.

The latest BSPP Congress in August 1985 reaffirmed Burma's adherence to the socialist course of development. Ne Win, now 75, was reelected party chairman. He was also president of the republic until 1981, when he retired in favour of San Yu, deputy chairman of the BSPP.

New Developments

At present the public sector accounts for nearly 40 per cent of the gross national product, while the co-operative sector accounts for about 6 per cent. That is why priority is being given to organizing and strengthening various types of cooperatives, including consumer and marketing cooperatives. As from this year, only cooperatives are allowed to sell rice, which is



The Sule Pagoda dominates the skyline in the centre of Rangoon.

expected to deal a blow to speculators and black marketeers. There are even cooperatives for catching wild elephants. After a period of training, the elephants work in the timber industry (the country is rich in valuable timber, particularly teak, a major export item.) No machines, however sophisticated, can replace the elephant in the tropical jungle.

The fourth four-year development plan was completed in 1986. The results are encouraging. The economy has been growing at an average of 5.5 per cent a year. The extraction of natural gas, tin, copper, zinc, lead and the production of fertilizers, textiles and sugar have increased markedly.

Under the British colonialists Burma had become a classic single-crop economy. It is still on the U.N. list of the ten least developed countries. Age-old backwardness cannot be overcome at one stroke. And yet the first steps have been taken.

There is an expanding industry that assembles vehicles and tractors from imported components. But there are still not enough of them. That is why vintage cars of the thirties which local mechanics miraculously manage to keep in running order are often seen in the bustling streets of Rangoon with its population of two and a half million. Mandalay, the country's former royal capital, and the second biggest city (population 500,000), prefers the bicycle to all other kinds of transport.

There are many novel features in Burma, especially in the social sphere and in moral attitudes. During the spring vacation groups of students help peasants build irrigation facilities and roads on a voluntary basis. They go to villages to give lectures and stage shows. At the end of the year the best workers, winners of the model worker



The new rice harvest.

From National Geographic (U.S.A.)

competition, come for a conference in Rangoon. They also spend several days sightseeing before going to holiday homes on the coast.

At the same time party documents and BSPP leaders candidly admit to weaknesses and shortcomings in the party's work, notably its failure to involve the workers on a large scale in the reform movement, omissions in organizational work, red tape and corruption.

The Three Rs Campaign

The people of Burma are very attached to their national costume. They rarely wear European dress, although the ubiquitous denim jeans can be spotted in the crowd. Burmese men, as well as women, wear the long skirts called longyis. Men's longyis are chequered and tied in front, while women's are in brighter colours and tied on the left.

The Burmese are proud of their original national culture and art. I attended two lavish opera-like performances in the capital's open-air theatre. The luxurious costumes and colourful decor would give the Bolshoi cause for envy. The shows are based on classical stories of noble princes and princesses. In the end, good triumphs over evil, and love over hatred.

Burma is waging a successful campaign against illiteracy, known as the three Rs campaign, or in Burmese, the three As. But though in Burmese the

words for reading, writing and arithmetic all begin with A, the alphabet does not. For A is the last letter, the first being the syllabic ka. University and senior school students take an active part in the literacy campaign. Already 81 per cent of the population are literate. Burma's achievements in eradicating illiteracy earned it a UNESCO prize in 1971.

Last year saw the opening of the university in Moulmein. This is the third university, after Rangoon and Mandalay. Unfortunately, not all graduates find work in their field. I have met diplomaed specialists among taxi drivers and small traders, whose numbers are legion. Unemployment is a serious problem, especially in Rangoon. And yet there are hardly any beggars in Burmese streets.

The average life expectancy has risen from 45 to 61 over the last 25 years. This is an impressive figure for a developing country. Doctors are being trained at four medical colleges, and the number of hospitals and outpatient clinics is growing. Along with European medicine, traditional Oriental medicine is also popular.

At the Juncture

The infamous "golden triangle" in Indo-China extends to part of Bur-

ma's territory. It is from here, one of the biggest narcotics-producing areas in the world, that white poison spreads. The Burmese authorities have long been waging a vigorous campaign against this evil. Fields of opium poppies are systematically destroyed to be replaced by other crops. Every now and then drug smugglers are caught. A broad-based campaign against drugs is being conducted, especially amongst young people. There are special centres for treating drug addicts and involving them in useful work. However, a lot more needs to be done before this evil is eradicated. All the more so as some of the main areas that produce opium and heroin are dominated by nationalist rebel groups and are out of government control.

Overall, the various rebels cause great damage to the republic's economy and threaten its territorial integrity. The Burmese press refers to three zones: "white," "brown," and "black." The "white" zones, constituting the bulk of the country's territory, are free of rebels, and are to all intents and purposes off limits to them. The "brown" zones are ones into which rebels make occasional forays. And the "black" zones, mostly rugged mountainous terrain in eastern and northeastern border areas, are controlled by them. These areas, rich in minerals, precious stones and timber, are virtually outside the country's economy. Some rebel groups enjoy foreign backing.

Situated at the juncture of South and Southeast Asia, Burma has never been a member of any military-political grouping. It has never been involved in armed conflict in either of the two regions.

It pursues an independent, peace-loving foreign policy and, having withdrawn from the non-aligned movement in 1979, describes itself as "genuinely non-aligned." Burma is not a member of any of the regional economic organizations, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) or the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC).

Soviet-Burmese relations have been friendly since they were established in February 1948, shortly after Burma achieved independence.

Rangoon—Moscow

A Warning

"Our theatre has never staged such a timely play," said director and producer Jude Kelly who is working on a production of "The Sarcophagus" by Vladimir Gubarev at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre in London.

Jude Kelly came to the Soviet Union at the head of a theatre group to meet the author of the play and to see a production of it in the playwright's native land, rightly believing that this would be of invaluable assistance in her own work.

"And we were not mistaken," she said on her return from Tambov where the local theatre had been one of the first to stage "The Sarcophagus."

At a meeting with Soviet newsmen at the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency (VAAP) she and two other members of her theatrical group—Arthur Bird and Elizabeth King and interpreter Michael Glenny—shared their impressions of the trip.

"It was most useful for us to see the Tambov production," Jude Kelly said. "We wanted to find out whether our initial impression on reading the play was correct. It was most important for me to know to what extent this was a 'Russian play'—although, frankly speaking, I'm not quite sure what that means exactly. Some specific style or flavour, perhaps. But there was nothing of the kind in this production, because the imagery of the play is universal. And the characters are, so to speak, society in miniature. We came to the conclusion that the play was perfectly suitable for the London stage."

The Royal Shakespeare Theatre, as we know, has two stages. One is in Shakespeare's birthplace, Stratford-on-Avon, where the famous memorial theatre was founded in 1879. Here only Shakespeare's plays are given. On the other stage, in London, besides the Stratford repertoire, the works of

playwrights of different times and nationalities are produced. Brecht, Strindberg and Anouilh, for example. Plays by Maxim Gorky and Bulgakov's "The Days of the Turbins" have had successful runs there. Jude Kelly herself has staged "A Midsummer Night's Dream" and "Romeo and Juliet" in this renowned theatre and taken part in the staging of plays by Shakespeare's contemporary Thomas Heywood.

"The production of 'The Sarcophagus' is a major event in our theatre," Jude Kelly says. "The Tambov performance helped me to find my own approach to the work. Now I shall simply not think of the 'nationality' of the play. After all, it raises problems of equal importance for British theatregoers as well."

This drama, written in an incredibly brief space of time, immediately after the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station, struck at the very heart of the problems which today agitate the minds of people everywhere. With a keen sense of civic duty the author speaks with passion of the supreme moral responsibility that rests on every individual in this nuclear age.

First published in No. 9 of the Znamya journal for 1986, "The Sarcophagus" immediately became a bestseller, if the term can be applied to a dramatic work of this kind. Britain learned of it from the Moscow correspondents of The Times and Guardian, and the Royal Shakespeare Theatre applied to VAAP for permission to produce it. Similar applications were later received from Sweden, Japan, the Netherlands, the F.R.G. and socialist countries.

At the meeting with the press at VAAP, the British guests and the newsmen asked the author how the play came to be written.

"I was among the first reporters to go to Chernobyl after the accident and have

visited it many times since then," Vladimir Gubarev said. "I wrote a great deal about it in the press. But I could not help feeling that I was not really getting through to the readers who, while grasping the facts and the details, nevertheless did not fully understand the message I wanted to convey. Besides, analytical reasoning is not always in place in news reporting. This only literature and especially the theatre can do because it appeals directly to the mind and emotions."

"I have been writing about atomic energy for almost

fessional, he ceases to exist as an individual, he finds himself in isolation, in a sarcophagus. Second, if mankind fails to draw conclusions from such lessons as the Chernobyl tragedy, if it does not succeed in preventing nuclear war, it will destroy itself, put itself in a sarcophagus. Therefore I cannot say that the play is an illustration of what happened in Chernobyl. That would be too simple. Chernobyl gave me the idea of writing play that would sound a warning."

British actors were greatly



Jude Kelly and Arthur Bird during an intermission at a performance of "The Sarcophagus" in the Lunacharsky Drama Theatre in Tambov.

TASS photo

thirty years. I have been at many nuclear installations and seen nuclear explosions. On the very day of the accident at Chernobyl I was writing the scenario for a film to be called 'Fire at a Nuclear Plant,' which I was due to hand in by May 15. The tragedy in Chernobyl stunned me. Later, when I saw the consequences, I realized that the richest imagination cannot possibly conceive of what could happen in reality. This is what I tried to convey in the play. It has two basic ideas. First, if a man betrays his principles, if he is incompetent, unpro-

shocked by what happened last April at the Chernobyl atomic power station. In token of sympathy for those who experienced that terrible happening they donated money to the fund in aid of the victims of the tragedy.

"We are convinced," says Jude Kelly, "that our work on this play by a Soviet playwright will be a new step toward deepening mutual understanding not only between theatrical people but between the peoples of our two countries."

L. BERNASKONI
and S. VOZIANOV

Xianggang Today

VICTOR BARYSHNIKOV

The traveller arriving for the first time in the special economic zone of Shengzhen in the south of China's province of Guangdong will invariably be taken by his local guides to the huge arch that links the area with neighbouring Xianggang (which means "sweet lagoons," but is more usually known by its Europeanized name of Hongkong). It is a very busy spot, with trailers, tourist buses and businessmen's limousines keeping up a constant stream of traffic in both directions. On a hillock on the other side of the arch flies the British flag, symbolizing Britain's rule over one of her last colonial outposts.

In 1997 the Union Jack will be lowered and replaced by the five-star flag of the People's Republic of China. Britain will leave Hongkong.

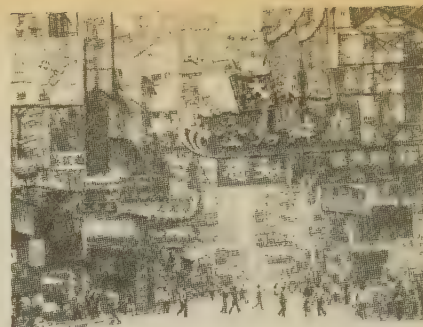
The territory was taken over forcibly by Britain from feudal China in the middle of the last century as a result of the so-called opium wars. Under the Nanking treaty of 1842, Britain took over the islands of Xianggang and Liangtang. The 1860 treaty of Peking legalized Britain's seizure of the Kowloon Peninsula (Jiulong), and in 1898, in keeping with the Peking convention, China was forced to cede the so-called New Territories—the coastal strip of the Kowloon Peninsula—to Britain on a 99-year lease, together with over 200 small off-shore islands. The total area of Hongkong is just over a thousand square kilometres. Its present population is roughly 5.5 million, most of them (98 per cent) Chinese. Almost a

third of them live in the town of Hongkong, the administrative centre.

During the almost 150 years of British rule, Hongkong has become one of the biggest markets in the Far East, and a major financial centre—the world's third largest after New York and London. It achieved its position thanks to its exceptionally favourable geographic location—on the crossroads of East-West trade, and its proximity to sources of raw materials and markets. The local port handles more than 20 million tons of cargo a year.

Britain established a typically colonial regime in Hongkong. Power is concentrated in the hands of the governor, who is appointed by the Queen (incidentally, in mid-October 1986 she visited China—the first ever visit of a British monarch). The legislative and executive councils function in an advisory capacity. The governor alone decides matters of defence, finance, foreign policy and life within the territory. A Hongkong City Council is elected to run municipal affairs. However, because of various restrictions, only an insignificant part of the population participates in these elections.

Initially, British capital profited almost alone from the advantages of Hongkong as a free port. It not only conducted active commercial operations with the mainland, but also used the colony as a lever for enshackling all of China. However, after the second world war, British capital began to be squeezed out. Hongkong was virtually



Xianggang's business quarter.

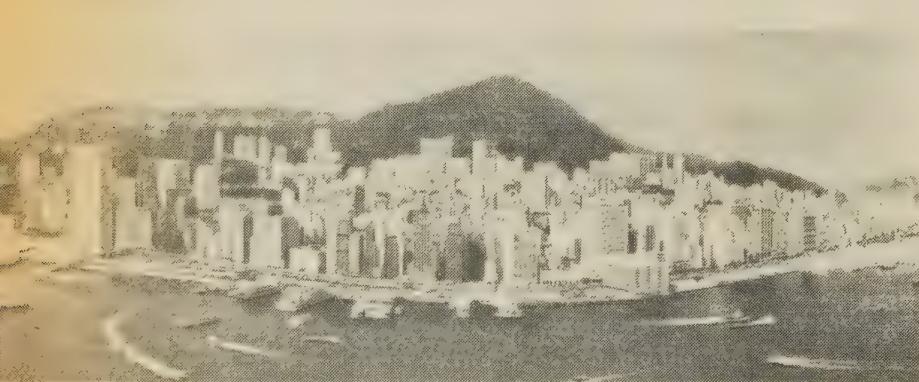
flooded with firms from the United States, Japan, the F.R.G. and other capitalist countries. At present Hongkong has on its territory about 20 American banks and 600 companies, 800 Japanese companies, and several stock and commodity exchanges. Direct foreign investments amount to about \$1 billion, the main investors being the United States (46.2 per cent), Japan (29.5 per cent) and Britain (5.8 per cent). The local bourgeoisie emerged against the background of acute competition. It does business in many parts of the world, particularly East and Southeast Asia.

The basis of Hongkong's economy is the manufacturing industry, about half of which concentrates on textiles and clothing. However, protectionism and fierce foreign competition (especially from South Korea and Taiwan) have forced Hongkong business to reorientate itself to the newest industries—electronics and electrical engineering, and the production of plastic goods, chiefly toys and artificial flowers. The extensive tourist industry welcomes about two million people a year.

Hongkong depends completely on its foreign trade, including imports of food and deliveries of water. Its position is extremely vulnerable, especially in view of changing market conditions. The slump in the capitalist world economy at the beginning of the 1980s hit Hongkong too. It led to growing unemployment and higher inflation. The first to suffer were, of course, the workers and other low-income sections of the population.

What about the colony's ties with the People's Republic of China? Trade with Hongkong brings China \$6-8 billion a year and permits it to recoup a considerable part of its trade deficit with the capitalist countries. China earns up to 40 per cent of its foreign currency from Hongkong. A whole network of Chinese offices, with the Bank of China in the forefront, operate in Hongkong (thanks to the favourable attitude of

Xianggang seafront.





Street scene.

From *Der Spiegel* (F.R.G.) and *National Geographic* (U.S.A.)

the British authorities). China also owns considerable property in Hongkong: industrial enterprises, hotels, shipping companies, supermarkets and cinemas. Chinese investments in the economy are assessed at more than \$2 billion. In recent years Hongkong has become China's second biggest foreign trade partner after Japan, leaving the United States behind. It also has priority in China's current plans for modernization.

On the subject of Hongkong's future, Chinese leaders pointed out that it will be given special treatment for fifty years after Britain's withdrawal from the territory. It is proposed, for instance, to make it a special administrative region to be known as Xianggang—China which would enjoy "a high degree of autonomy," and to maintain the existing social and economic system and legislation, as well as the status of an open port and a major international monetary, financial and trade centre. It also provides for the upholding of the economic interests of Britain and other countries.

So the decolonization of Hongkong is to be undertaken in keeping with the principle "one country—two systems," the same approach the P.R.C. has suggested for the reunification of Taiwan with the mainland. Broadly speaking, Peking regards the return of Xianggang as a rehearsal for the return of Taiwan, since the programme for its peaceful reunification with China addressed to the Guomindang leaders on the island repeats the principles of preserving the status quo that are to be found in the Sino-British joint declaration on Xianggang.

Hongkong's coat of arms depicts a lion cub (the colony) holding out a pearl to the British lion, with its back to the dragon—the symbol of China. But in less than 11 years, in July 1997, the lion cub will have to do an about-face and offer its pearl to the dragon.

Michel Legrand: Music Speaks Louder Than Words

The Russian folk song "A Young Cossack on a Spree on the Don," a surprise prepared for Soviet audiences by the remarkable French composer Michel Legrand, his sister, the singer Christiane Legrand and pianist Erik Berchot, rang out for the last time in the Rossiya concert hall. Three weeks of guest performances in the Soviet Union were over, and there had been thunderous applause, flowers and thanks from the audience after every concert.

Michel Legrand, writer of wonderful music, virtuoso pianist, conductor and singer, has visited the Soviet Union more than once.

"I love your people and country very much and have a very deep rapport with them," he said. "The visit was very moving. For the first time I saw Armenia, the land of my ancestors: my grandfather on my mother's side was Armenian."

How did one of the more popular contemporary composers, the author of the famous theme from "Les Parapluies de Cherbourg," come to make his career in music?

When he was five years old Michel began to take lessons from his father, a well-known conductor, who had discovered that his son had perfect pitch. At ten he went to the conservatoire, and worked first in a music school, then in an orchestra and subsequently as an accompanist. In 1955 Michel Legrand, then 23, made his first record, and by 1959 he was comparatively well known as the author of music for many popular films.

But this is far from all. Michel Legrand also writes music for the theatre and composes symphonies. He performed his two concertos, for the piano, and for two pianos and orchestra, in the Soviet Union. He is a modern composer and no music is alien to him. His exacting professional standards have enabled him to raise variety music to a very high level and at the same time to make major symphonic forms more accessible to the general public.

"You include fragments of jazz in symphonic compositions, and this is not often done...."

"It is my approach. I would be bored if my concerto were pure jazz or pure symphony. Since I have come to the Soviet Union as a composer, I wanted to show, at least in fragments, everything I am doing. There is marvellous music in any genre. Also, I simply love 'shuffling the cards.'"

"What audiences do you have in mind when you write music?"

"I do not think about audiences at all. There is music of reason and music of the heart. I write music of the heart, and compose it for silence, while the audience is just a means of making that silence still more profound."

"Do you like folk music?"

"I love it and use it in my work. It is an integral part of any music, its innermost life-giving source."

The Moscow folk music group directed by Dmitry Pokrovsky performed at a meeting at the Central Composers' Club. The French visitor was astounded by the harmonious polyphony of the choir and the whirlwind dance and promised to write a song in the Russian folk choral style specially for the group. The visit to Armenia gave him another glimpse of folk culture. Perhaps in one of his next compositions we will hear the duduk, a folk musical instrument presented to him in Erevan.

"What is your attitude to modern music? Do you like rock?"

"It depends. I admire genuine rock, created by American blacks. It runs in their blood. But I hate what is called surrogate rock."

"What attracts young people to it? Has music become more mundane, more 'physical,' lost its lyricism?"

"I think the root of the evil is poor musical education. I do not mean in the U.S.S.R. but in the world as a whole. Secondly, we have ourselves to blame. Young people no longer have any hearts and the rising generation are losing faith and hope. They do not trust their parents, because we started two world wars and invented the atomic bomb, a weapon capable of wiping man off the face of the earth."



Christiane and Michel Legrand singing a melody from "Les Parapluies de Cherbourg."

Photo by A. Ratnikov

Our children do not know what else to expect from us. But hope is joy and inspiration. It gives birth to music and painting, love, travel, challenging work, ideas and philosophical quests—everything created by human reason. It is life."

"Are you an optimist?"

"Yes, I am, because I believe in man and know that he is innately generous and kind. And I believe he will have a better future."

"What have you written recently?"

"Since the 12th World Youth and Student Festival, when I was in Moscow last, I have written music for three American and two French films and two scripts, and given guest performances in the U.S. and Europe. I have many projects. But first, I would like to have a rest. Then back to work. I have a keen interest in plans for a joint Soviet-French musical, 'Count of Monte Cristo,' the music for which I wrote in France five years ago. We have reached agreement with State Concert Organization and the musical is to be premiered in the Oktyabrsky concert hall in Leningrad in December 1987. In addition, there is talk of a joint Soviet-French film based on Leo Tolstoy's novel

'Anna Karenina.' I would like to do something for it."

"You have performed in our country with the Leningrad concert orchestra. That orchestra is planning to perform the music for 'Count of Monte Cristo,' is it not?"

"They are superb musicians. They play very well and love their work. There was no language barrier. Working with such a team, you do not need many words. We play and love the same music."

The pleasure of working together was mutual. The Leningrad concert orchestra directed by Anatoly Badkhen is a young team, started a mere 18 years ago, but its repertoire already includes about 300 concert programmes. The choice of that orchestra to perform with Michel Legrand was no accident: back in 1973-74 the orchestra took part in the popular programme "Melodies of Friends" and then cooperated with foreign performers and musicians and gave concerts devoted to the 7th Soviet Composers' Congress.

"Was Michel Legrand's musical and dramatic presentation anything new to the orchestra?" I asked art director Anatoly Badkhen.

"It was difficult in the sense that we

were expected to be very prompt and mobile and to show great artistic discipline and productivity. There was much that was new to us, such as the character of the music and Legrand's performing style, the way he moved about the stage, playing the piano, singing and conducting all at once. All that was strange to us. But I have the impression—and the maestro himself made it clear—that he was pleased with our joint work."

The guest concert tour not only brought us into contact with Michel Legrand and his sister Christiane, a remarkable jazz singer with a deep voice of great range, but also introduced to Soviet music lovers a new name—Erik Berchot. This gifted pianist graduated from the Paris conservatoire, took part in many international competitions and was a prize winner at the International Chopin Contest in Warsaw in 1980.

"A few words about your work with Michel Legrand..."

"Michel Legrand and I had worked together before the tour. I performed his classical pieces and sometimes we gave concerts together. He is a very dedicated man. For him every note has a meaning. I perform for the most part classical music and he prefers jazz or variety. But there are no boundaries between genres in music."

The guest concerts are over. It seemed that the symphonic arrangements of well-known songs and themes from "Les Parapluies de Cherbourg," "Les Demoiselles de Rochefort" and "L'Ete 42" gave them a new lease on life.

"M. Legrand, many people view your work as an expression of humanist ideas...."

"I hope so... I am a humanist!"

• • •

We had another meeting with Michel Legrand at the international forum For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind, in which he participated.

"M. Legrand, what do you think of your role as a participant in the Moscow forum?"

"We have all come here for one thing, to tell the world that we are against nuclear war and nuclear weapons...."

IRINA LAGUNINA

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"This one's just a daub!"
"It's real art!"

Arguments of this order could be heard at the 17th exhibition of the work of young Moscow artists. Opinions differed both as regards individual pictures and the exhibition as a whole. On show were 250 pictures representing a wide range of style and manner. Some belonged rather to the kitsch variety, some were naive primitives—the work of the so-called "new wild ones."

Was it worthwhile putting them all on show? It was. We cannot, the organizers of the exhibition say, take the responsibility of excluding work we do not ourselves understand, what we do not accept for one or another reason, what is controversial.

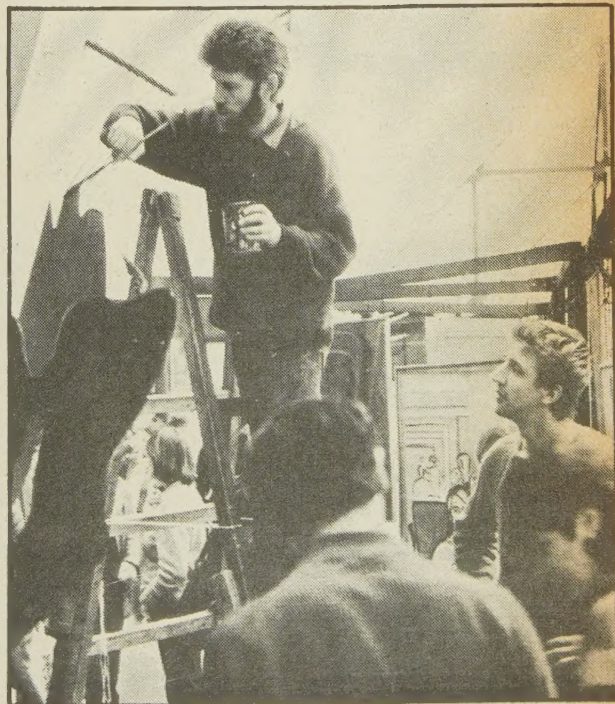
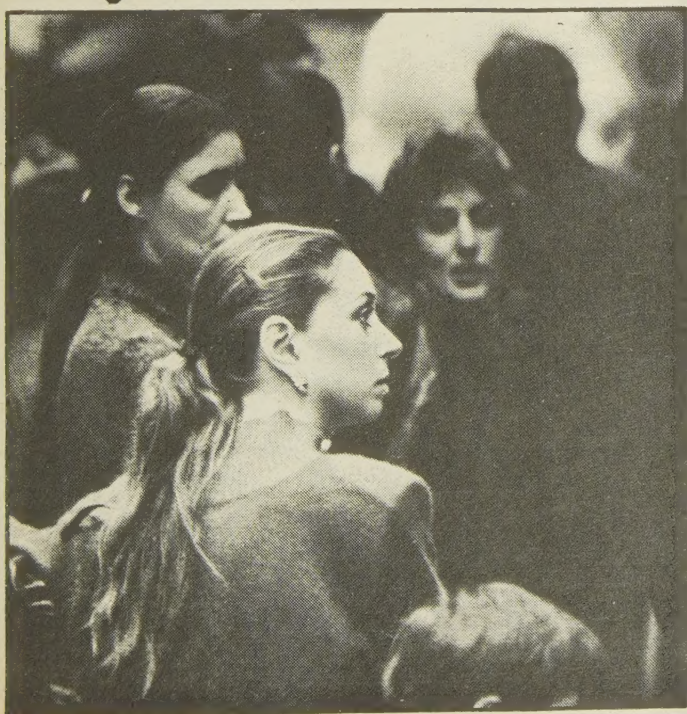
An exhibition of this kind reflects the new, broad-minded approach that pervades our life today. Only free, open discussion of works of art can help to reveal real talent and screen out the extraneous.

Young Artists Exhibit Their Work



Painting by Y. Ustinova "Going Home from Work."

In the exhibition halls.





What's in perspective!

Drahoslav Ramik (Czechoslovakia)

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND



ИНДЕКС 70622

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